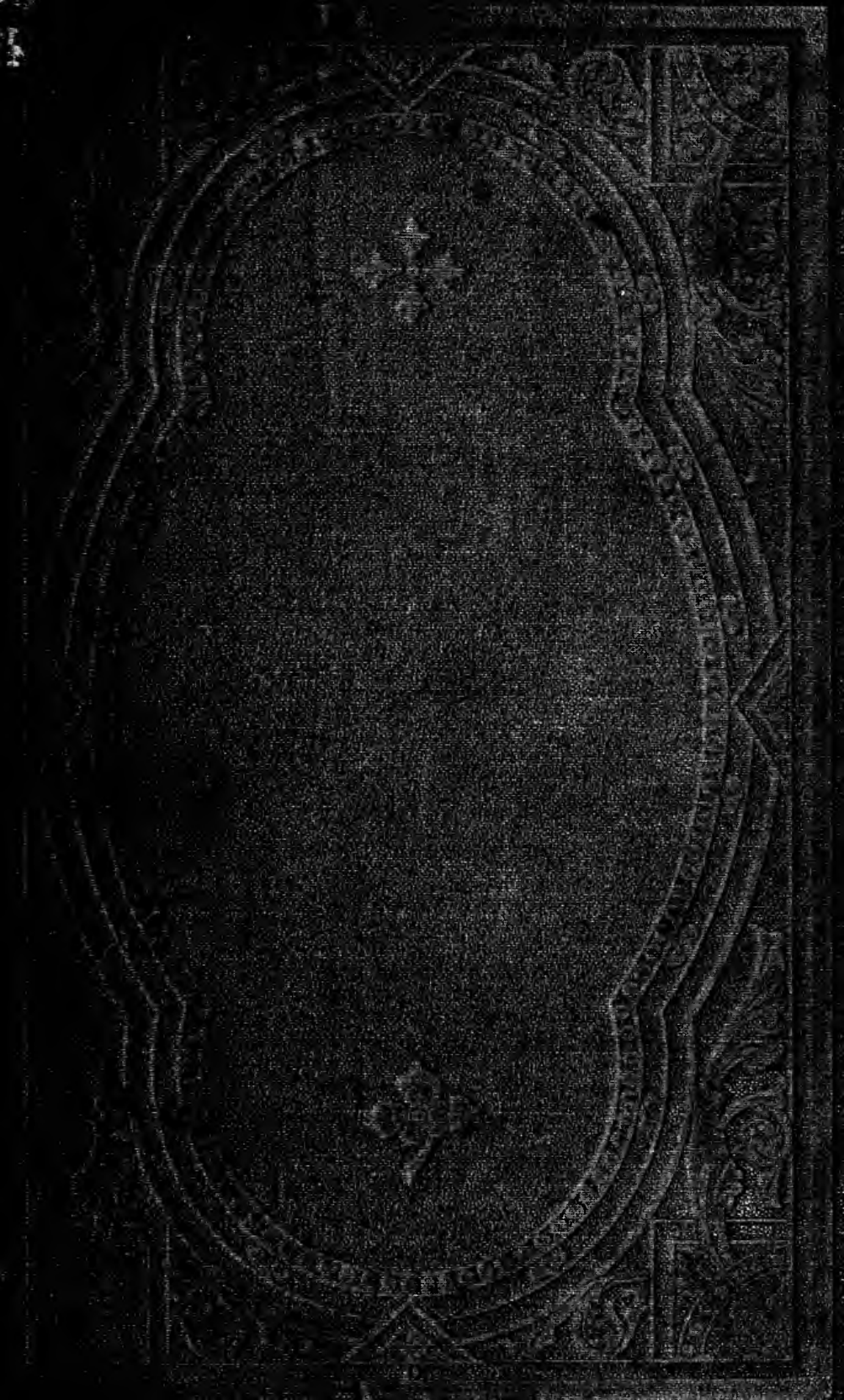

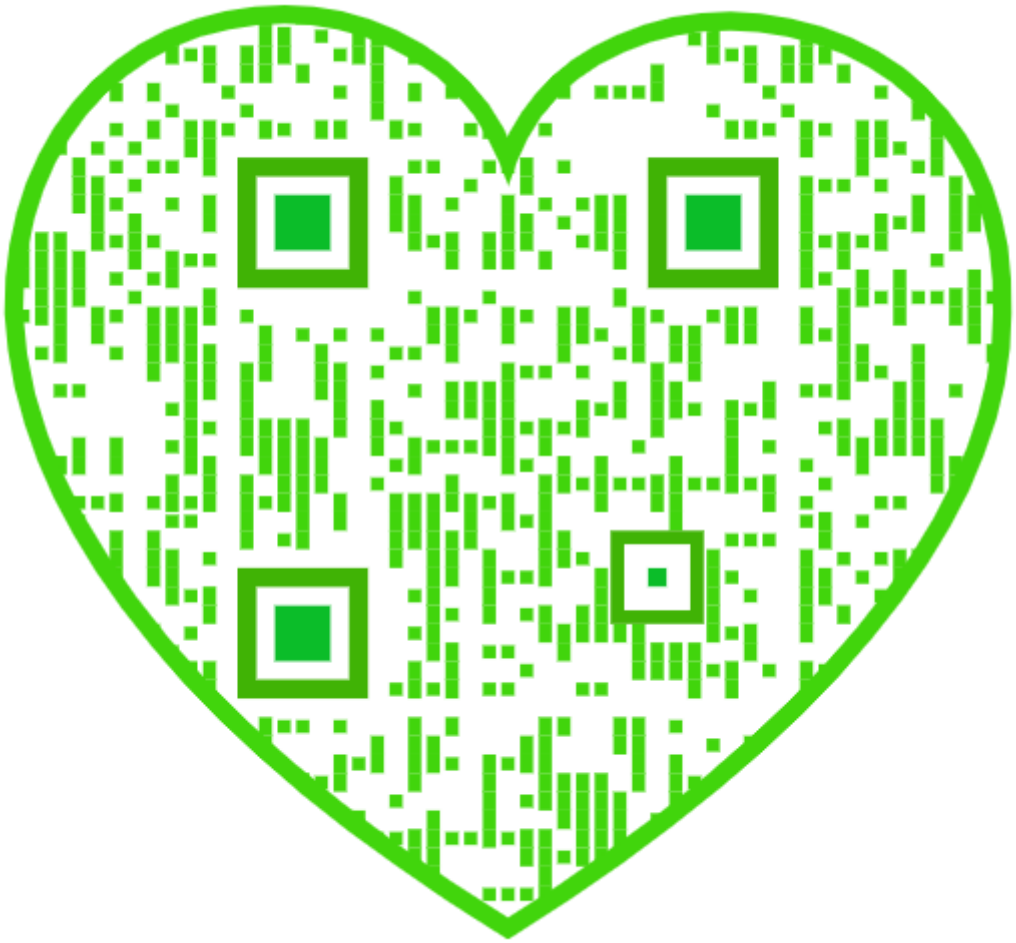

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GERMAN GLASS.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE LORD HERBERT OF LEA.

MEMOIRS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ART OF

BY THE LATE CHARLES WINSTON,

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS, FROM THE AUTHOR'S ORIGINAL DRAWINGS,

BY PHILIP H. DELAMOTTE, F.S.A.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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PREFACE.

THE present collection of Memoirs by the late Mr. Winston is published by some of his friends out of regard to his memory, and in a belief that to bring together in a convenient form much information and many critical remarks on glass-painting, hitherto dispersed through numerous volumes, will be acceptable to those who interest themselves in the art.

The occasions on which the Memoirs were written, as well as their subjects, sufficiently appear from the table of contents, and require no observation at present. In arranging them chronological order has been observed; but a reader little acquainted with glass-painting may find it convenient to disregard this arrangement, and to read first the 'Lecture delivered before the Working-men's Association at Lichfield,' which contains a popular and comprehensive view of the whole subject. This lecture, as well as part of the Memoir on the Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral, might serve as an introduction to a knowledge of the art.

The chronological order has been observed, because it was thought desirable to show the progress of Mr. Winston's opinions, and any modifications they may have undergone in a long series of years; but, from the consistency and steadiness of his views, the latter seem to be very slight. The most material point on which he altered an opinion is noticed at length in the Biographical Memoir.

The Memoirs having been written at different times, and frequently treating of the same or very similar topics, some repetitions occur in them. These could not have been removed without too much interference with other matter with which they are connected; for they are not mere repetitions. In only two cases have passages been omitted as such, and therefore useless. These are noticed in the proper places.

No alterations have been made in the Memoirs beyond the correction of a few trifling and evident mistakes.

The notes to the Memoirs are those which were originally attached to them, except a very few merely giving necessary explanations and references. These are generally placed between brackets, besides being sufficiently distinguishable from the others by their contents.

The letters to Mr. Charles Heath Wilson were not furnished by him with a view to their publication; but when examined, parts of them seemed of sufficient general interest to be included in this volume. The selection of such as are now published was not made by him, nor had he an opportunity of seeing it till after the letters were printed. Two or three of the remarks then made by him are given in the corrections and additions.

The plates and vignettes are all taken from Mr. Winston's drawings of glass-paintings. The diagrams and illustrations originally accompanying a few of the Memoirs[1] are republished, except four plates illustrative of the painted glass in Salisbury Cathedral. Those originally given were executed according to a process then new, and are spoken of in the Memoir, and in a note to it, as "rough." New coloured lithographs from Mr. Winston's drawings of the same subjects have, therefore, been now substituted for them.

A short index has been added for convenience of reference to subjects which might not be readily found by means of the table of contents.

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[1] Namely, those on Winchester, York, Lincoln, Gloucester, and the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

It should have been mentioned in the Biographical Memoir, that in 1849 Mr. Winston published an 'Introduction to the Study of Painted Glass.' (J. H. Parker, Oxford.) It is founded on the Memoir on the Painted Glass at Lincoln, and includes the substance of a lecture given at Oxford in that year.

Page 55. *Add as a note to Letter XXVII.*

Mr. Winston did not see the completed works. Since the remarks in this letter were written, other windows have been added of equal merit as works of art with those on which he comments.

Page 56. *Add as a note to Letter XXVIII.*

Mr. Winston's advice as to clearstory windows has been acted upon with entire success.

Page 57. *Add as a note to Letter XXIX.*

Mr. Wilson had published short memoirs of the distinguished artists by whom the windows were designed.

A circumstance recently mentioned by him proves the general interest which such works as the Glasgow windows are capable of exciting. Observing that many of the working-men came to the cathedral to look at them, he offered to give a lecture on them. The number of applications for tickets of admission was nearly 6000.

This fact seems to offer an encouragement for the completion of the similar works at St. Paul's, and to justify a hope that they will be equally popular.

Page 125, line 22, and in the Index, for "Egington" *read* "Eginton."
Page 350, line 9, for "Nethereale," *read* "Nether Seale."

C. Whistler

GLASS-PAINTING.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR.

THE life of the author of the following Memoirs, of whom some account may here be expected, offers few of the materials which generally render biography interesting or amusing. It was active and useful, but not eventful, having been chiefly passed in the steady exercise of a profession, in the cultivation of some favourite branches of knowledge, and in a liberal application of the fruits that were reaped from them. He was not either by birth or accident placed in any unusual position, or exposed to vicissitudes of fortune; he was unconnected with political parties and public events; and happily quite free from the eccentricities and irregularity which sometimes cause amusement or regret by their contrast with the talents with which they are united. The outline, therefore, of his life may soon be traced; and no attempt will be made to fill it up with trifling anecdotes and circumstances of common occurrence, neither conveying useful information nor illustrating character. Connection with the art from whose future history his name will never be separated is the only circumstance which can attach any public interest to his life; and therefore it is to matters arising from this connection that the greatest portion of the following Memoir will be given.

Charles Winston was born at Lymington, in Hampshire, on the 10th of March, 1814, and was the elder of the two sons of the Rev. Benjamin Winston, and Helen, daughter of Sir Thomas Reid, Baronet. Of his mother he was deprived in childhood; and the care of his early years devolved on his father's mother, Mrs. Sandford. She was the only child of Charles Winston, formerly Attorney-General of Dominica; and it was in compliance with a condition in his will that her son, under a private Act of Parliament, took the name of Winston instead of Sandford.

He held the living of Farningham, Kent, upwards of thirty years, but resigned it in January, 1848.

In the vicarage-house of this parish the boyhood and early youth of Charles Winston were passed. Here he was educated by his father till the age of fourteen or fifteen; and when at that age he became one of the pupils of the Rev. Weeden Butler, who then resided at Farningham, he still continued to live at the vicarage. This home education probably was an advantage to him, and may have contributed towards the formation of his future character in its best features; for it was a home under whose unperceived influence, independently of any direct precepts, his good principles and generous and honourable sentiments, free from the least taint of affectation and display, might have been imbibed, and where a spirit of intelligent curiosity would have been awakened and encouraged in a mind naturally active and thoughtful.

On the completion of his education the law was, after a short interval of uncertainty, fixed upon for his profession. He was accordingly entered at the Inner Temple, and became a pupil of Mr. Warren, now a Master in Lunacy, and afterwards, for a short time, of Mr. Twopenny.

He commenced the practice of the law as a special pleader; and in this severe discipline he most probably acquired or strengthened his habits of minute accuracy and patient industry.

In 1845 he was called to the bar, and became a member of the Home Circuit. But his business continued to be still chiefly confined to his chambers; he did not very frequently appear in court as a barrister, and but seldom went on the circuit; and never perhaps the entire circuit. He was much engaged in arbitrations, and in drawing specifications of patents; and in the latter a fertility in mechanical contrivance, and an early fondness for and quickness in understanding machinery, were frequently of use to himself, and sometimes to his clients; for he is said occasionally to have suggested improvements and to have corrected errors in the patents for which he was preparing the specifications.

During many years also he was in the habit of acting as a deputy-judge in some of the county-courts; and on the whole his business was a considerable one, although, as is not unfrequent in the law, his reputation might not extend beyond the limits of the profession. It was through his other pursuits that his name became more generally known.

In the practice of the law he continued till the year 1864.

In the month of May in that year he married Maria, youngest daughter of the late Philip Raoul Lempriere, of Rozel Manor, Jersey, a family with which he was already connected by the marriage of his mother's sister with a younger brother of Mr. Lempriere. On this marriage he withdrew from his profession.

Mr. Winston's residence in London—first as a student, and afterwards as a practitioner of the law—gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with several who, either professionally or by choice, were occupied with some of the branches of art and antiquities, for which he had already formed a taste.

He was among the earliest members of the Archæological Institute; and indeed had been one of a small private society, with some of whose members the establishment of the Institute originated. An article by him on painted glass accordingly appeared in the first number of their journal: and this was his first published essay. The following pages will sufficiently show that he continued to be a frequent contributor to it, and to take an active part in the proceedings of the society.

Though fond of every branch of the fine arts, and of the antiquities connected with them, glass-painting was his chief favourite, and the special object of his study. This had engaged his attention while yet a boy; and in the catalogue of his drawings, printed in the present volume, one may be seen with as early a date as December, 1830. It was perhaps in the early part of that year that he began the study of the art.

Though it is generally impossible to fix on the circumstance by which the mind is directed to a particular pursuit, and a predominant taste acquired, an attempt is often made to assign one whenever eminence has been attained. Thus a recent notice of Mr. Winston and his works atttributes his taste for glass-painting to the influence of the painted windows at Oxford. The cause assigned is a plausible one; but in the present case there was no opportunity for its operation. If a cause is to be sought, it is more likely to be found in circumstances connected with some repairs and improvements in the church at Farningham, in the course of which a little old painted glass came into his father's possession, and an acquaintance was made with the late Mr. Miller, an eminent glass-painter of that time. Conversation and discussions arising out of these matters would hardly fail to interest an intelligent boy; and they might give a particular determination to his natural sensibility to beauty of form and colour; nor is it improbable that they might also contribute to encourage his taste for architecture.

The assiduity with which, from the early date above noticed, Mr. Winston made drawings of ancient glass-paintings is apparent from the list of them; and the fidelity and spirit with which he reproduced as well the colours as the designs of the originals are extraordinary. To borrow some remarks from a notice appended to the last of the following Memoirs: "his drawings of glass-paintings are unequalled. In character and expression, force, truth, purity, and brilliance of colour, as well as in the representation of the texture of the glass, they are unparalleled. They are, in fact, as perfect facsimiles of the original as can be produced by water-colour upon paper."

In 1847 he published his 'Inquiry into the difference of Style observable in ancient Glass-paintings, especially in England, with Hints on Glass-painting.' The origin of this book is stated in the preface to it. As long ago as 1838 he had drawn up and circulated among his friends, in manuscript, a brief treatise, in which he had reduced the different styles of glass-painting to classes, in imitation of Rickman's 'Gothic Architecture,' arranging them in corresponding periods. This sketch was the foundation of the larger work which he was encouraged to undertake by Mr. Parker, of Oxford, who published it. But the original slight outline had to be carefully and minutely filled up; and to collect new materials, to arrange the mass previously accumulated, to examine many questions which from time to time arose, and to prepare drawings for the plates, formed a work of much labour, in which he had no assistance from English or from foreign treatises, though he has referred to two or three of the latter for corroboration or illustration. The work was quite original, and completed without neglect of his profession. For it would be a mistake to suppose that, either then or in subsequent years, he neglected the law for its more attractive rival. An instance of the diligence with which he would at the same time apply to both occurs in a letter of twelve closely-written sides of note-paper to his friend Mr. Wilson, consisting of minute observations relating to the windows of Glasgow Cathedral, of which more will be said hereafter. "Only fancy," says the letter, "since the 24th of September" (the date of it being the 26th of October) "I have disposed of four thousand cases and thirty insolvencies in the courts here. Hard work, I assure you." Another letter, on the same circuit, and relating to the same subject, is written "just before going into court."

On these circuits the opportunity of examining glass-paintings was never omitted. In a letter written while holding courts at

Shrewsbury, he says, "I have seen more than the usual quantity of modern glass during my late peregrinations in England and Wales; and certainly, if anything, the art has lowered during the last year." In fact, glass-painting never escaped his attention. On a tour in Germany, for instance, a piece of ancient painted glass was observed in the windows of an inn where the horses were baiting. It was carefully examined, a note made, and mention of it, as an example of some peculiarity, is introduced into the book we are now speaking of.

This book, which has been long out of print, and therefore may be here a little more particularly noticed, consists, as the title indicates, of two parts—the first containing a brief history of glass-painting, a description of its different methods, and a very minute examination and arrangement of its styles; the second offers some critical observations on its modern state, on its peculiarities as a branch of painting, on the principles according to which it ought to be exercised, and on the causes which have been opposed to its successful cultivation since the modern revival of it. There is also an appendix containing a translation of that portion of the 'Diversarum Artium Schedula' of Theophilus which relates to glass-painting; and both in this appendix, and in the notes, much miscellaneous, interesting, and instructive matter is introduced. The second volume of it consisted of plates.

The styles are divided, according to Rickman's nomenclature, into the Early English, the Decorated, and the Perpendicular; but with the addition of the Cinquecento—the most perfect style; glass-painting not having declined contemporaneously with Gothic architecture, but having attained its highest degree of excellence when the latter was considerably debased. The Cinquecento style existed for thirty years contemporaneously with the Perpendicular.

All these styles are frequently mentioned, and more or less particularly described, in the following Memoirs; but their characteristic features are delineated with much more minuteness in the Inquiry; and they are also there illustrated with numerous plates.

To the style of glass-painting between the Cinquecento period and the recent revival, the name of the Intermediate style was given in the hope that the present age might develop a new and improved style.

For the formation of such a style, the total relinquishment of all copies and imitations of ancient glass whatever is advocated. "It is evident," he observes, "that the first step towards

elevating glass-painting to the rank it once held among the arts, is to estimate its productions by those sound rules of criticism which are alike applicable to all works of art, and not by the sole standard of antiquarian conformity. But I fear that this principle cannot be carried into effect whilst glass-painting is confined to mere imitation. In estimating the merit of an imitative art, two points are really presented for consideration—its quality as a work of art, and its conformity with the conventionalities of style. But inasmuch as a knowledge of the conventionalities of style is more commonly possessed than a knowledge of the principles of art, because the former is incomparably easier of acquirement than the latter, amateurs, who exert a very powerful influence on the state and condition of glass-painting, are apt in their criticisms to fall into the error of regarding a conformity with style, not as an accessory to the glass-painting, but as constituting the sole end and essential object of the work. Hence a copy or a mere compilation, scarcely rising in merit above a copy of some ancient glass or other painting, is so often preferred to a design which attempts, however artistically, to carry out an ancient style in spirit rather than in conventionality only, because the mere copy will naturally exhibit a closer and more literal compliance with the petty details of style than the latter more intrinsically meritorious work—a course which cannot fail to retard materially the real advancement of glass-painting as an art, and the full development of its powers."[1] He then proceeds to detail the methods by which, whilst glass-painting may be improved as an art, it may be harmonized with the architecture of Norman, Early English, and Decorated buildings.

The views in this chapter of his book he retained with little or no alteration. In a letter to Mr. Wilson, of the 25th of March, 1857, he observes: "As to what you say of striking out a new style of treatment, it is precisely what I meant when I wrote that book, 'An Inquiry into the difference of Style in Glass-painting.' I had not looked at it for years till last night, when I read through the chapter beginning at p. 268. I was surprised to find how little of it I should wish altered were it now to be re-written: and I am pleased at this, and to observe that you, though working from a different point, have tended so nearly to the same conclusion. I wish you would just run your eye over it. It is very short."

[1] P. 283.

The leading doctrines which he has always steadily maintained are—that glass-painting should be treated as a branch of the art of painting, distinguished only by the peculiarities arising from the nature of the materials; that within the limits imposed by these peculiarities, representation should be characterized by the highest perfection of art in design, colour, and expression, and not made in the rude and imperfect manner prevalent during its earlier periods, which, in fact, was the result of ignorance, not of intention; that the distinguishing excellences of a glass-painting—brilliancy and transparency—should be carefully preserved; that designs for a glass-painting should always be made and coloured with reference to the quality of the glass to be used; and that consequently an artist who makes designs for glass-painting should have not only a knowledge of this particular branch of painting, but also a practical acquaintance with the qualities of different kinds of glass. Finally, he repeatedly urges that glass-painting should be treated simply as an art, free from the restraints of antiquarianism, and guided by a taste unwarped by ecclesiastical prejudices and religious associations.

On one point, very slightly indeed indicated in the present book, but occasionally alluded to in some of the following memoirs and letters, he appears to have altered a long-cherished opinion; but the change does not involve any inconsistency with his leading doctrines; and it is, in truth, nothing more than an alteration of opinion as to the possibility of designing the figure portions of painted windows so as to harmonize with the style of early buildings without offending the refinement of modern taste.[1]

He had long entertained an idea, founded on the striking similarity of treatment in drapery which is observable between archaic Greek and very early Christian art, and is frequently pointed out in the following memoirs and letters, that the latter might be improved by a judicious study of the former, which is so much more graceful in its lines, and in the general composition.

On this ground he based his proposal to improve designs for

[1] The following remarks on Mr. Winston's change of opinion, the nature and extent of which have been somewhat misunderstood, have been communicated by his friend Mr. Charles Heath Wilson, of Glasgow, whose name has already occurred. Though a stranger to Mr. Wilson, the editor had many opportunities of knowing how much Mr. Winston was in the habit of discussing with him both glass-painting and other branches of art, and how much he relied upon his judgment. This is, indeed, sufficiently shown by the annexed correspondence.

glass-painting in the Early English style by the study and imitation of archaic Greek works; and, as a natural sequence, while he advocated this improvement in drapery, he pointed out that the human form might be in like manner improved from the same source. It was in conformity with these views that the windows in the round part of the Temple Church were executed; but by a letter to Mr. Wilson,—the last in the annexed correspondence,—this idea appears to have been abandoned, together with that of any other modification of mediæval art. In this letter it is said: "In designing windows for mediæval churches, there are but two courses—either to adopt modern art (which is the best course where figures are introduced), or to adopt mediæval art. There is no middle course, as I once supposed and advocated, of getting a modification of mediæval art by good artists: you have entirely convinced me of my error. The Glasgow windows, and also the Alnwick window, by Dyce, are sufficient proof that I was wrong, and that you were right."

At the commencement of his career as a critic Mr. Winston took high ground for glass-painting, and insisted upon the importance of constituting this art a branch of the fine arts, and of avoiding all mere literal imitations of old forms; he insisted upon the necessity of introducing correct forms and natural expression, and of designing the figure parts of windows as well as the existing state of fine art will admit of. But he never lost sight of the conditions of glass-painting. These he thoroughly understood, but he thought their observance consistent with good art.

He could not for some time emancipate himself entirely from some prevalent ideas of archæological consistency, which have in reality fettered glass-painting and prevented its advancement as an art; but, having insisted upon its capability of higher things, he for some time thought it possible to combine the two objects —that which he so ardently wished to see realized, and that which so many held to be of equal importance. Hence his earnest search among the monuments of past ages for examples which might illustrate his meaning, and his recommendation of those archaic forms of Greek art which combine so much that is beautiful with a resemblance to peculiarities of style or treatment in early glass-painting.

His opinions upon this subject were supported by the obvious influence of Greek upon Byzantine forms of ornament, a result probably of their imitation, in a rude and imperfect manner, of the Greek remains by which the artists were surrounded. A

better and more accurate study of these remains, of which we possess so many fine examples, by artists of higher cultivation, might, he thought, develop an art in the same direction which then would harmonize with ancient edifices, and yet be excellent in form. An unceasing study of art, however, which occupied every leisure hour, modified these ideas, and they were finally abandoned; but he adhered to his early proposition that glass-painting should be a fine art; feeling the general truth that the more perfect its forms, the more truly it harmonizes with the perfection of ancient forms of architecture, although it might not harmonize in the letter with the imperfect paintings of the same age.

The success of a glass-painting depending as much on the quality of the material employed as on the skill of the artist, improvement in the modern manufacture of coloured glass was not less an object of Mr. Winston's attention than the establishment of correct principles and the elevation of the art to a higher standard of excellence. He therefore applied himself to the examination and comparison of specimens of old glass, from even the earliest times, to chemical analyses, and to making some experimental manufacture according to the results which were obtained from these and the ancient receipts preserved in the treatise of 'Theophilus.' These investigations were attended with much success; but it will be more interesting to give an account of them and their result in his own words from two letters written to Mr. Wilson in 1856.

The extracts from these letters will also furnish a specimen of his characteristic energy; and they will at the same time, unfortunately, show the vexation which his sensitive nature experienced at the obstacles thrown in his way by indifference or self-interest, and at the more surprising want of support from those who with more carefulness had it in their power to effectually improve the art which, in point of expenditure, they were so liberally encouraging.

"Ever since 1850," says the first of the letters just mentioned, "I have been amusing myself, at no small cost, in having analyses made of ancient glass, that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in particular, and have entirely succeeded in discovering its manufacture, thus clearing up many points which before were only matters of conjecture. I gave the analyses to ——, who has the glass-works close to this place, and with my scientific friends assisted him in reproducing the ancient material, which he has done most successfully, and I have had two windows

done in the Temple Church (the round part) to commemorate our triumph. Whether —— will go on making the glass when not working under my eye, is another question; but the problem is solved, and this is most interesting to me as an antiquary, and ought to be so to the artist, for there can be no mistake about the effect of the new material, which is as *harmonious* in colour, brilliant, and at the same time solid in appearance, as the old glass is. By these means, therefore, a great, and, as I thought at one time, insuperable obstacle to making designs after the remains of the twelfth and thirteenth century glazing, has been entirely overcome, and I only wish you were in these chambers at this moment, in order that I might compare with you the results of our researches with the genuine old specimens. We have beat the French glass-makers so hollow that it is quite laughable, and one of their chief glass-painters has actually ordered some glass of ——, an incontestable proof of English superiority. I am not surprised, for, in the first place, I went to better chemists than those employed in these matters in France; and, when we came to work the matter synthetically, I had the good fortune to obtain the service of a first-rate chemist, who took up the matter as an amateur, like myself, without which, considering the enormous difficulties which a totally different existing form of furnace and different fuel from that formerly in use presented, we never could have turned our analyses to any practical use. You see, therefore, I have not been idle; but I have had to work entirely by myself, exposed to all the attacks and sneers which I have provoked by holding an independent course, and not allying myself to the 'friends of the movement,' Mr. —— and his friends who write in the ——. Had I been a Puseyite I dare say I should have been lauded to the skies—so much for party spirit; which, however, I can well afford to laugh at."

In the second letter, of the 20th April, 1856, Mr. Winston writes:—

"It was in the hope of procuring a good *material* on which to work, that in 1850 I employed a first-rate professional chemist to analyze some old twelfth-century glass, and I subsequently got a pupil of the same man to analyse many other specimens. I offered to Chance of Birmingham the analyzes if he would attempt to work them out, but he refused; and ultimately ——, of ——, offered to take the matter up, and he erected a furnace for the purpose. It was fortunate that —— did offer, for without his aid there could have been no practical

result; and had his place been further from the Temple, I could not have attended to the experiments as much as I did, nor could I have got my chemical friend to do so; and if we had not attended, ——'s people must have utterly failed to do anything. For the operation was a regular chemical one from beginning to end, requiring pure chemical knowledge, and a great deal of it too, to carry it out; and a branch of chemistry, by the bye, on which comparatively little is known. I am confident that the labours of the last six years have made my chemical friends better acquainted with the subject than any other chemists. Indeed, we have actually produced glass at ——'s which a good chemist told me (not knowing that we had succeeded in making it) was impossible to be made. The only colours we have hitherto tried our hands at are blue, the *streaky* ruby, several but not all kinds of green, yellow, white, and a few shades of purple; which no one else has succeeded in producing. We have been trying only for twelfth-century colours as yet, and of these we have not yet attacked the whole; but what we have done, we have done thoroughly. The discouraging part of it is, that I must attend to it myself, if I want the glass for any work in which I am interested. Many glass-painters do not know good glass from bad. Indeed, some of them actually encourage —— to make a sort of glass in some sort resembling the real thing, which glass has been imitated by others; so that I expect (as it is much easier to be made in a short time) the real manufacture will be given up, except when particularly asked for. I may say that this result has already taken place. When therefore you hear of Winston's glass you must bear in mind that there are two sorts—the right sort, including nearly the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth century colours, and some of the colours of the sixteenth century; and the wrong sort. My friends and myself are content to be judged by what has been done under our own eye; but we do not stand godfathers to all that —— makes to please his customers. We have worked out the problem, and shown people that the old glass can be reproduced; but if they object to the price, and are content with an imitation, they are only fit to be left to shift for themselves. Mr. —— and myself were requested by the Dean and Chapter of Norwich to superintend a large window which was done for their cathedral. We had no check on the artist, nor on ——; the consequence was that the trouble we had to keep matters straight—for the Dean and Chapter had stipulated for the new glass—was

so great that we both were sick of it before the work was completed.

"Afterwards the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln begged me to superintend eight windows, now in progress, for their cathedral. I consented on one condition, that their contract with the glass-painter contained a stipulation that it should be executed with glass to be approved of by me. The result of this is, that, though six months at least have elapsed, the whole of the glass is not yet made. I declare to you that the bother I have had about this I will never undergo again. If our glass-painters would but back me up, there would be no difficulty; but you may suppose what the taste is, when I am doing all I can to have the glass made one way, and ——'s general customers doing all they can to have it made another way. I mention all this merely to show the lamentable state of glass-painting."[1]

Mr. Winston was naturally vexed that glass was not made according to his directions; but no blame can be imputed to the manufacturers for preferring their own methods. They are gentlemen of known skill; and Mr. Winston did not prefer any coloured glass to theirs. As, however, he anxiously disclaimed responsibility for all glass not made according to his own views, it is but just to him to relate the circumstances as they occurred; nor is it unjust to the glass-makers. If the glass now usually made by them is as good as, or better than, that made according to his wish—facts not here disputed—the credit will belong to them solely. Should the other kind be wished for on any occasion, they are the only persons who can supply it. And it must be distinctly understood that the preceding extract from Mr. Winston's letter is given simply as a narrative of what took place in the progress of some interesting discoveries in the manufacture of coloured glass, and of circumstances connected with them, as they existed seven or eight years ago. It contains no criticism on glass made subsequently to the period of its date; and it is obvious that all comment, either by way of praise or blame, on the past or present productions of the glass-makers is quite foreign to the present Memoir.

Notwithstanding the neglect, and even the direct opposition and ridicule, with which the attempts to improve the manufac-

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[1] Some account of this new glass may be seen in one of the following memoirs, entitled, 'On a revived Manufacture of Coloured Glass used in ancient Windows,' where the merit of the discovery is attributed to Mr. (now Dr.) Medlock, of the Royal College of Chemistry, and to the practical skill of Mr. Edward Green, of Messrs. Powell's glass-works in Whitefriars.

ture of coloured glass at first had to contend, the merit of the discovery has been at length acknowledged. Mr. Apsley Pellatt, a very competent judge of their value, considers "that the colours of the glass in the Temple windows are equal to the old; and that a debt of national gratitude is due to Mr. Winston for his long persevering and successful efforts to revive the rich colours and low tone of ancient glass.[1] Some churches where it has been used will be mentioned in another place.[2]

This long and minute study of glass-painting, in all its bearings, was well known to most who take an interest in the art, and hence Mr. Winston was frequently consulted on intended works. To applications of this kind he seldom or never failed to give his cheerful and active assistance; nor is the zeal with which he used to exert himself to be ascribed merely to a love of the subject. To enter warmly into any cause in which he engaged, and to give a careful and conscientious examination of every matter submitted to his opinion, was a marked feature of his character, as many of his friends who may have had occasion for his aid and advice in their private affairs must have experienced.

The part he took in the painted windows of Norwich and Lincoln Cathedrals has already been noticed in the account of his experiments on the manufacture of coloured glass; but the most important work on which he was consulted was that arising from the restoration of Glasgow Cathedral. In this he was deeply interested for some years; and as there is extant an extensive correspondence relating to it with Mr. Wilson, the latter was applied to for information.

A letter which Mr. Wilson wrote in reply is here inserted, with very trifling omissions, as it will give a much more lively idea of Mr. Winston's zeal and activity, and of the influence he exercised over the execution of this undertaking, than any general statements could afford: it will also explain some passages in the annexed correspondence.

To some readers, moreover, everything connected with this great work—the greatest of the kind which has been executed

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[1] 'General View of Glass-painting, by Mr. Apsley Pellatt, in connection with the Jury's Report on Stained Glass, and Glass used for Decoration.' In the 'Builder' of October 11, 1862, p. 735.

[2] See a note to 7th memoir.

The experiments above noticed related to both the colours and texture or quality of glass. Improvements in the colouring and manufacture of glass arising from them were communicated to Herr Ainmüller while the Glasgow windows were in progress. The letters to him will probably be made public. Mr. Winston was also in correspondence with a French amateur on the subject.

in modern times in these kingdoms, and which has already exercised a decided influence on a kindred work now in progress—may not be uninteresting; it is therefore hoped that the somewhat disproportionate space which is given to these windows in the present Memoir will be excused.

Mr. Wilson's letter is dated the 15th of December, 1864, and is addressed to his friend Mr. Penrose.

After mentioning the circumstances in which the plan for filling the windows with painted glass originated, the first step towards effecting it, and his application to various persons distinguished in science and art for advice, Mr. Wilson proceeds:—

"I wrote also to Mr. Winston, recalling myself to him as an old acquaintance. His reply to that letter is the first of the series which I send to you.

"It is necessary to the comprehension of our relationship that I should state to you that my acquaintance at that time with the subject of painted glass was but general, limited to a knowledge of a few foreign works regarding it, and to the windows of some continental cathedrals and churches, upon which I had at different times made some notes.

"I had earnestly adopted the ideas of those who maintained, like our friend Mr. Winston, that the windows ought to be works of art in a high sense.

"Such was the state of matters when my late friend responded to my request, and permitted me to sit at his feet, and to share in the rich stores which he had accumulated. He saw the importance of the undertaking, and expressed his approbation of the general plan which I had submitted for consideration, and entered upon the subject with all the zeal and warmth of his nature.

"Our correspondence on every subject connected with glass-painting and the proposed windows commenced, and was carried on, at the rate of about three letters a week for years.

"Aided by his advice, I visited the most important works of glass-painting in England and in France. Never had pupil such a master as mine. He gave me at times daily lessons; advised me what to see, and where to see it; sent me introductions to several men learned in our subject, and communications of the opinions of others whose opinions were of value. He revised my specifications for the artists; added to them, especially upon technical points; and although in his letters upon the subject he says that he had but little to alter, I feel that they would not have been so complete or valuable without his care and advice.

"He visited Glasgow upon several occasions, and met our

committee, offering them, I need not say, invaluable advice, and encouraging them in the course which they had adopted; he also delivered a public lecture in Glasgow, which, though calculated for a different class of hearers, and therefore not so well understood as it deserved, aided in confirming the growing belief that the windows ought to be works of fine art.

"Throughout the whole of our undertaking Mr. Winston advised us upon every subject connected with the technical execution of the windows; and in my correspondence with the Inspector of the Royal Glass-painting establishment at Munich I acted by his advice in all points relating to the subject.

"When our first window arrived he came to see it—a window which, as we had desired, proved to be free of certain characteristic defects in the execution of other works in Germany—a fine mosaic, skilfully and tastefully carried out in all its parts, but in some defective in power of colour, and exhibiting in the ornamental portions certain German mannerisms, which we anxiously desired should not be repeated. Our representations were received by the artists with the utmost courtesy. They sometimes expressed surprise at the knowledge of detail manifested in our communications. This we owed to Mr. Winston's lessons.

"The great improvement which was manifested in successive windows shows the value of Winston's advice to us, communicated by me to the artists.

"On the art-part of the subject we also exchanged ideas; and I may be permitted to say—judging by his own expressions—that I was privileged to afford him some instruction in the principles of monumental art, as applied to glass-painting; and as a consequence of that long and intimate correspondence he abandoned—not the general high principles which he had established in his writings—but some of his proposed methods of carrying out those principles.

"Our correspondence continued to within a few days of his death. His letters were latterly principally occupied with the proposed windows at St. Paul's Cathedral, and with the advice which he was giving the inspector at Munich upon the subject of the manufacture of glass, so as to improve upon the too pellucid material hitherto used by the Munich school. There was every prospect of success attending these labours when he so suddenly died.

"From all that I have said you may estimate the invaluable nature, as well as the extent, of the services which he rendered

to us in Glasgow, and the beneficial influence which he brought to bear upon our enterprise and upon the artists whom we employed."

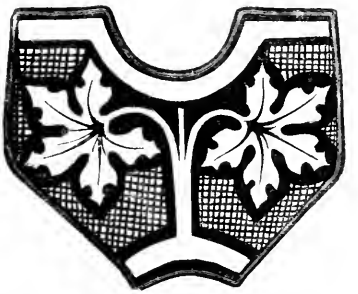
Of the correspondence mentioned by Mr. Wilson in the preceding letter, a small portion will be found in the Appendix to the present Memoir. The minute remarks and criticisms on glass-painting will perhaps be instructive and interesting to many; and they may direct the attention of those who have the direction of similar works to points important to their successful execution. The letters too may occasionally, though rarely, supply the want of correspondence on more general topics, in showing something of the opinions and manner of the writer.

Mr. Wilson has mentioned that the latter part of his correspondence related principally to the proposed glass-paintings for St. Paul's Cathedral. Mr. Winston had been nominated one of the committee for the embellishment of this edifice, and naturally gave his chief, though not an exclusive, attention to the intended glass-paintings, entering into the subject with the same ardour which he had manifested in the case of the Glasgow windows. One of the latest acts of his life was to make a journey to Brussels to meet Herr Ainmüller, the director of the Munich establishment, in order to confer with him on the proposed windows, with the advantage of being able to refer to those of the Cathedral of St. Gudule, for enforcing and explaining the views of the Committee more fully than could be done by mere verbal directions or by correspondence.

In the success of these windows of St. Paul's, so fine a field for the application of his favourite Cinquecento style, he was deeply interested; but he was not to see the result of even the small portion of the work actually in progress. In 1863 his health had shown signs of being seriously undermined. The nature of the disorder, originating most probably in too anxious and laborious occupations, was obscure; but one of the most dangerous symptoms in which it manifested itself was an affection of the heart. To this he became a victim, dying quite suddenly while alone in his chambers in the Temple on the 3rd of October, 1864, during a temporary visit to London from the neighbourhood where he had been passing part of the summer.

Several public notices of this unlooked-for event showed the esteem in which he was generally held. Two of them, paying a tribute to his peculiar talents, and feelingly expressing a sorrow widely partaken of for the loss of an amiable and accomplished friend, are retained at the end of the concluding memoirs of this

collection, as they originally appeared. They make it unnecessary to say more on this topic; nor is it requisite to examine in detail Mr. Winston's abilities and personal character, the more prominent features of which are sufficiently apparent. The former were certainly of a high order, and could not fail to attract attention; but the latter might merit greater praise. Many have doubtless surpassed him in natural abilities, and many more in extent and variety of knowledge; far fewer in moral worth. Few have passed a more blameless life, and few have united more of the qualities which win confidence and affection, and command respect.



APPENDIX TO BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR.

LETTERS TO MR. C. H. WILSON

RESPECTING THE PAINTED WINDOWS FOR GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

I.

MY DEAR SIR, Temple, 21st March, 1856.

I am quite glad to renew our acquaintance after the lapse of so many years, and I assure you your note was a source of great gratification and encouragement to me, showing, as it does, that the views of so practical a man as yourself entirely corroborate mine as a mere amateur. I quite agree with you that we have still our glass-painters to form. At this moment I can hardly name, with the exception of Mr. Hedgeland (who has painted the west window at Norwich), a single real artist who is also a glass-painter. Mr. —— has designed several windows, some tolerably good; and Dyce made a capital design for the Duke of Northumberland, which, however, was obliged to be sent to Munich for execution. Ward stands supreme as a master of ornamental detail, and he has an assistant who draws well, but not quite in the way you would like. There are several other glass-painters, such as ——, ——, ——, and one or two others whose names I at present forget, whose artistic power does not accord with their really honest attempts at improvement.

But the great mass, such as ——, ——, ——, ——, &c., can only be looked upon as mere tradesmen, at the best. They cannot even copy correctly, but have set up a style of their own, which resembles the old work only in its defects. If you could manage to found a school of *art* in glass, you would indeed supply a desideratum. You will have no competitors; for I am sure that one good artist, fertile in invention, and having a competent knowledge of ancient precedents, such as will enable him to catch the spirit, and not merely follow the letter of the ancient windows, would sweep the board in this case.

[Here follows an account of the attempt to revive the manufacture of the old coloured glass, p. 9 of the preceding Memoir.]

With regard to the style of glass-painting which I think should be followed, I cannot do better than refer you to the printed essay I enclose, which you can use as you like, for I have another copy. Whether I am right in an artistic sense, I leave my betters to judge, and I shall be glad to know your own opinion. That I am right in an *antiquarian* sense, I have no doubt. All antiquaries are agreed that the style of art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had a Byzantine origin; that it is derived immediately from the Greek, and but mediately from the Roman art. I have several things here which would surprise you by their analogies. Putting history out of the question, there can be no shutting one's eyes to the language of existing monuments. The strongest resemblance is between the *archaic* Greek and the Early English. In the draperies we constantly recognise the *pipe* fold, the figure showing its form beneath the clothes, the folds originating in the limbs, not going across them, as in the fourteenth-century work; and then again in the ornamental details, in the foliage, there is the Greek handling as plain as can be. I tried the experiment, in the Temple Church, of having several figures copied from Greek designs, and the ornament borrowed quite as much from classical Greek work as from that of the twelfth century, and you would be astonished how completely both agree with the character of the architecture. Of course the Temple windows are but experiments, done by a young draughtsman, so far as the figures are concerned. But it shows what may be done, and what a scope there is for *artists*, even when they adopt a medallion style of composition, which, I think, is the only style favourable to a display of the richest colouring. However, all this is gone into at length in the enclosed paper.

I can only say, in conclusion, that I do not know which pleases me the most, to find that *you* are taking up the subject, or that a common pursuit has prevented the dissolution of our acquaintance.

Yours very truly,

C. Winston.

II.

My dear Sir, Temple, 4th April, 1856.

Absence from town has prevented my replying sooner to your letter. I am sure you do not at all overrate the difficulty of your position, for I know myself what uphill work it is to endeavour to make brother amateurs exert themselves, and the obloquy one is exposed to for simply speaking the truth, all which you will feel in a greater degree from your position as a *practical* man of art. However, I do not at all despair, if you persevere in your task, and do not throw it up in disgust.

I will as soon as possible procure you some specimens of the new glass, and some of the ordinary glass to compare with it. —— has been induced to make a spurious sort, and to sell it at a cheaper rate than the real stuff, in spite of all my remonstrances, and he is now reaping the natural result—seeing, that is, others imitate his glass and sell their spurious productions in the same way as he has sold his own. However, I mention this merely that you may be prepared for those detractors who say that there is nothing in the new manufacture. I do not think there is anything in the spurious work either of —— or others; but there can be no doubt that the glass made from the receipts I have supplied him with is really the same as the old, and he should endeavour to keep himself up to the mark.

The full-sized drawings I possess of glass I should be sorry to send, partly for fear of accident, and partly because I find the greatest difficulty in making people not accustomed to them understand them. But I will send you a book containing a quantity of small-sized drawings, and especially of entire windows, which I have just now lent to a lady, as this, I fancy, will meet your wants completely. At present there is no nineteenth-century style adapted to a Gothic building of the twelfth or thirteenth; and such a style can only be founded conjointly on the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the remains of antiquity.

You will see, in the Abbé Texier's work on the enamels of Limoges, that I am supported by facts, as well as the opinions of antiquaries, in ascribing a Byzantine origin to twelfth and thirteenth century art. It is clear that a Venetian colony settled at Limoges (I think, speaking from memory, in the tenth century), and we know that St. Sophia at Constantinople served as the model of St. Mark's at Venice. The connection between the Limoges people and the Venetians, and between the Venetians and the Byzantines, being made out, the question is, from what source did the latter derive their art? and an examination of their works pretty well shows that it had its origin, partly in the old Roman, partly in the most ancient archaic Greek—the ancient air being ascribable rather to copying from antiquity than to inherent rudeness.[1] I want to see our own work for twelfth or thirteenth century buildings conducted on similar principles. I want no copying of the antique, no gods and goddesses, not even the expression of entire repose which we see in the old marbles; but I want to see the antique used as Raphael used it; as a means of representing the true Christian sentiment, in the most beautiful manner, and—because in the most beautiful—in the most winning and popular manner. Christianity is not taught

[1] See the Memoir on the resemblance between mediæval and classical art as exemplified in the glass-paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the Lecture read before the Lichfield Working Man's Association.

by holding up asceticism, or anything else naturally repulsive, to our admiration. Those who are the best Christians battle through ordinary life as Christians, and these are most encouraged by the example of persons of like passions and feelings, and exposed to similar temptations, as themselves. The instincts of the present age are opposed to descending to Gothic models, which at best, as in Peter Fischer's shrine at Nuremberg, are coarse as compared with what modern art, improved by the study of the most perfect models, would exact; and in the generality of instances they are below mediocrity.

I think your selection of subjects very good, though no doubt there will be great difference of opinion on that matter. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, after much deliberation, the other day adopted a design setting forth the scheme of human redemption, of which I enclose a diagram. I have adopted a similar scheme, with the advice of our late very learned chaplain, in the windows here, and I think it interesting.

Very faithfully yours,

C. Winston.

III.

My dear Sir, Temple, 20th April, 1856.

I am sure I shall only be too glad to give any little assistance in my power in maturing a work which will require the utmost energy of yourself and friends to carry through properly, and will demand a far greater expenditure of time and thought than the world will credit; and, therefore, if the provost will favour me with a call here, I will show him whatever I have in the way of actual glass, or drawings from glass. My book with drawings was returned to me only yesterday, the friend to whom I had lent it having been obliged to leave town through severe illness. I will send it you to-morrow by rail. There are some sketches of entire windows in it, which I have found more useful than full-sized drawings of detail, in explaining the thing to persons having no previous knowledge of the matter, and in this respect you will find it of some little use. As for the engravings in the monograph of the cathedral of Bourges, or indeed the plates of any work, they entirely fail to give the effect of the glass, which can only be produced by carefully coloured drawings, and therefore they are to be considered merely as diagrams. I mention this because a good many people who set up as judges have derived their knowledge of the subject from prints, and not from a sight of the original works. This accounts for such persons looking with complacency on modern windows, which faithfully reproduce all the bad drawing and bad composition of the old

glass, without reproducing even in the slightest degree the *colour* and *tone* of the old glass, which constitute its redeeming feature.

[Here follows an account of the experiments made for reproducing the ancient glass, inserted in the preceding Memoir, p. 9.]

With regard to your inquiry about a designer, I think you will find that with a little attention you would yourself design the glass as well as, or better than, any living glass-painter. But then, without a practical knowledge of the subject, you would be sure to do things which, when the glass was up, would have the effect of making it quite different in appearance from what you intended. Thus, if you put a red streak and a green streak together, the chances are that the colours would neutralise; so, if the white was not kept narrower than you would think necessary, it would spread over the design. These and a variety of other matters are to be learned only by experience, not only of the material generally, but of the new material itself (if used as I think it ought to be), which differs in an extraordinary degree from the ordinary material.

What I should advise is to employ a glass-painter who *is really an artist*, and to exercise a considerable surveillance over him. Thus he would have the benefit of your artistic perception, and you would have the advantage of his technical knowledge, and being an artist he could embody your ideas. At present there is but one man whom I can think of recommending, George Hedgeland, of No. 2, Grove-place, St. John's Wood. Poor ——— went out of his mind just after he had made a sketch for the west window of Norwich. After an immense deal of consideration the committee disregarded W——'s and my advice to send the window to Munich, and adopted (as I thought as a pis aller) our recommendation of Hedgeland, then an unknown man; but he has sent a piece of glass to the Hyde park Exhibition, decidedly the best piece of English glass there. As it happened, our recommendation turned out trumps, and I do not hesitate to say that, as a piece of true glass-painting (I say nothing about the design or the arrangement of the subjects, nor the choice, all which things were decided by the committee themselves), this west window of Norwich is the best window of modern times, whether English or foreign, and the only English window, in point of *art*, which will bear a comparison with the Munich windows—I mean in point of drawing and artistic execution. This window has been very much condemned * * * *
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* * *. But everybody whose opinion I prize has given the same praise to this great work. It has its defects, of course; but these are far surpassed by its excellences. When I wanted some windows for the Temple Church—for which I caused the new glass to be made—I put them into the hands of Ward, and, indeed, I could not have done better at the time, for I knew that Hedgeland

knew nothing about the technicalities of the twelfth-century ornament, and I wanted not to copy, but to have original designs, and without Ward's aid I could not have had my thoughts expressed. But the figures are not up to the mark. They were done by a young artist, a pupil of N——'s, but who has not had the experience of Hedgeland, who is a regular artist. I therefore should not venture to recommend him to you.

Since the Temple windows were done, I delivered that lecture of which I sent you a copy, which had such an effect on Hedgeland, who saw at a glance what I meant by the connection between twelfth and thirteenth century and Greek art, that he set himself to work to examine the twelfth and thirteenth century ornamentation; and shortly after he was employed by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln to paint the eight windows I have already mentioned.

It is only necessary to see his designs to perceive the enormous superiority of an *artist* over the herd of glass-wrights. His figures are intelligible, and many of them beautiful—Greek in character, but strictly in accordance with the ornament, which is first-rate thirteenth-century work. I do not mean to say that these windows are perfect models, but only that they are so enormously in advance of everything else (my poor windows are beaten hollow), that I should be most dishonest if I did not declare my conviction that Hedgeland is your man. . . . .

I have written you a long letter, but I thought I ought to let you a little behind the scenes.

Yours very truly,

C. Winston.

IV.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 11th Feb. 1857.

The Baron dines here on Friday, and I only wish you could meet him. I have been so busy that it was not until this evening that I found time to read your notes hastily over. Certainly, I ought to be satisfied, for never was there a more complete confirmation of my advice that the subscribers should resort to continental artists. I cannot tell you how much information I have derived from your notes, and I wish to keep them a little longer; it is so satisfactory to have the opinion of another pair of eyes, not blinded (as mine are from a continual habit of looking at glass exclusively) to the inherent defects of all painted glass. Thus I should not have noticed the commingling of the designs in the Norwich window, simply because the old ones (the Gothic ones I mean) are as much

commingled, and most of the Cinquecento also, the Brussels glass and one or two others from Belgium excepted. With regard to this window, I ought to say that the choice of designs rested entirely with the committee, and that Hedgeland thought that Albert Dürer's designs would have suited better than Raphael's, the figures being slenderer, and the draperies more broken up. But my lords and gentlemen thought otherwise. Such a window would not suit your cathedral; had they attended to me, the landscapes would have been fainter and more monotonous, that is to say, more grey, as in Cinquecento work. I can quite understand what you say of the shadows of that window, though this did not strike me before. The shadows I know to be not a bit darker or more dense than those at Brussels, but they appear darker because the high lights are brighter, the glass at present being undulled by age. The shadows at Lichfield are quite as deep; but here again the high lights are quite *laid down* by age. So also at King's; some of the windows are as deeply shaded quite as this, but the high lights are toned down by age; and it will be a question well worthy of consideration how far in new glass it may not be well, either to make the shadows lighter, or to dull the high lights. The dulling the high lights artificially is a hazardous experiment, for age produces a broken dulling, not a uniform dulling like art. And certainly the best specimens of artificial dulling that I have seen, as at Munich, look as if the glass had been *ground*. This is wholly destructive of the brilliancy and sparkling character of glass. But it is possible that some way may be devised of imparting the effect of age to the glass, though I doubt it. I am sure it would not do to shade figures as little as Lusson does, except when they are *very* small; then it does not signify. It would be intolerable on a larger scale. The dry hardness of the Alnwick glass is owing to the shadows not being sufficiently stippled and juicy, or deep enough. Compare these with the Brussels glass, and you will see what I mean. If very light shadows are right, then William of Wykeham's glass in the ante-chapel of New College, Oxford, is superior to that of Brussels. D——, I know, was very full of keeping the glass in his window flat, because the wall of the church was flat. But he was no logician, otherwise he would have seen the confusion of ideas involved in his proposition. This is well exposed by Dr. Johnson in the case of dramatic writing. But it is possible that what D—— wrote to the Germans had the effect of inducing them to alter their own style for the worse.

I should give you a hint about D——'s window. I dislike the canopy work as much as you do, but I believe that he is perfectly justified (having adopted the Italian Gothic) in mixing what you justly call "Gothic" and Byzantine. This mixture is inherent in the Italian Gothic, and constitutes one of the greatest objections to

the style, though, strange to say, Ruskin admires it. Therefore, be on your guard, as otherwise you will give —— an advantage. Also, be on your guard as to what you say of the date of the different parts of Glasgow Cathedral. * * * * *

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Yours most truly,

C. Winston.

V.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 15th Feb. 1857.

The Baron dined here on Friday, and I got Clarke to meet him. The result was that the clock struck twelve when we thought it was between nine and ten. We explained to him scientifically everything that occurred to us, as to all the peculiarities of tone, decomposition, &c., in glass of different dates and makes, and our learned companion retaliated by giving us the clearest explanation of art that I have ever had the good fortune to meet with. I fancy the greater part of the time was consumed in discussion that had no very immediate bearing on the matter in hand; but both Clarke and I are perfectly charmed with the Baron, who, however he may stand as an artist—about which I dare say there is the usual difference of opinion that occurs in matters artistical—is certainly gifted with an uncommon clear head and a most apt tongue. To be sure what a difference between him and ——! He takes much the same view that I do of medallion windows, but says that to do them properly, and with the groups properly studied, would be too costly; and his idea, as the safest, as well as that most within the compass of the subscribers, is to fill all the windows with white patterns, like those of the thirteenth century (of which you saw the approximate effect at Merton College, Oxford), placing shields of arms in them, and a single angel at the top of each window, after the manner of Cimabue at Assisi. The idea of the angels (which, of course, would be done in the highest art) was new to me; but I am convinced, as also was Clarke, who knows the cathedral well, that the Baron is right; and that in this simple manner the most remarkable and satisfactory effect would be produced by my new glass, at no greater cost than the money already subscribed, without *darking* the interior too much (which, I think, would be fatal), and with the certainty of success. I do not know what he means to do with the experimental window, but he has borrowed a number of drawings of me, so he seems determined to master the subject.

I am off to-morrow to South Staffordshire, to encounter some rather harder work than my learned friend Mr. B—— has to dispose of in his court.

Yours very truly,

C. Winston.

VI.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 8th March, 1857.

I only returned a week ago. . . . .

With regard to your note just received, I am as you are, my people are your people, my horses are as your horses. I am clearly of opinion that you must go *abroad*. I do not say this for the miserable sake of appearing consistent, but from the conviction I have arrived at from all the correspondence and argument that has taken place *since* I was at Glasgow, that, if you dabble with English glass-painters, you will get into a sad scrape. So strongly do I feel this, that I should of my own accord advise the matter to be put wholly into the hands of some foreigner—the execution of the glass as well as the making of the cartoons. But I will carefully consider the contents of your note, and write to you again on Monday. I am so busy just now, that I could not give it the attention which it demands.

I sent —— the drawings he selected before I went to Staffordshire, but I have not heard of him or from him since. I fear he will fail, unless he adopts my advice, and gets a practised hand, like Ward, to help him with the archæological part of the business. I fear he is getting some fifth-rate man to try to design patterns from my drawings; but though it seems easy enough to one who knows the principle upon which the old patterns were composed, it is not so easy to those who do not. Thus Pugin never saw the principle; the consequence is, that his patterns are entire failures; and if he failed, what is to be expected from a raw hand? It is probable that you will be obliged to have pattern windows intermixed with picture ones; but I should say, let the patterns harmonize with the pictures; which can only be done by allowing the same hand to do the work. In other words, employ therefore foreigners entirely. I do *not* think that the employment of the new glass is of equal importance with keeping the whole work—picture-windows and pattern-windows, or windows composed partly of pictures and partly of patterns—in entire harmony, and this can only be done by employing the same hand throughout.

Most truly yours,

C. Winston.

VII.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 12th March, 1857.

I have been so engaged since I wrote that it was not until last night that I was able to complete the inquiries I wished to make respecting the cost of painted glass, when the cartoons are supplied to the glass-painter as you suggested. . . . .

As to the expediency of getting Hubner to execute cartoons for the figures, and Ward to execute the glass, I think, before you resolve upon this, you should a little consider the matter in its antiquarian bearings. As I understand you, the object of employing Ward is to secure pattern-work of the first order (and there is no man who can approximate him in this), of a style in harmony with that of the building, that is to say, a style like that of the old patterns of the latter part of the thirteenth century, or early part of the fourteenth; and those patterns must of course be executed in the new material, otherwise they must fail. On this last point I am so clear that I defy contradiction; and then, to use this powerful glass, there must be no *jemmification* [1] of the pattern-work, it must be simple and severe like that of the period I have named. What, then, is the probability of Hubner's figures being in an equally severe and simple style? If they should prove to be so, they will be the first German figures that ever have been; for all the German figures that I have seen, even those in the Maria Hilf Church at Munich, which are associated with pattern-work of the early part of the fourteenth century, are in the style of the sixteenth century, or latter part of the fifteenth—a style far *broader* than that of the figures of the thirteenth century, more refined, and requiring a great deal more of shadow in half-tint than the earlier figures do; besides having much the same black lines in them, and consequently harmonizing rather with the pattern-work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than with that of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth. I suspect that the chances are that you would get your figures in one style, and the pattern-work in another; which would not only set up the backs of the antiquaries, but would be positively wrong in point of art, and inharmonious. I am certain you must choose one of two things,—either have your pattern-work to match the building, and make your figure-work match the pattern-work, or else disregard the date of the building, and let the style of your figures be that of the pattern. For my own part, I should say, if you can get really first-rate artistical figures, which would harmonize with pattern-work of the earlier period, this should be the course; but if there is a

[1] This alludes to the term jemmy-Gothic—*i.e.* mock Gothic—or modern imitation of the old Gothic.

doubt about it, and you know that you can get artistical figures of a later period, do not hesitate for one moment to embrace the latter alternative. The most rigid adherence to antiquarianism cannot compensate for a want of art, when, by another course, really good art can be secured. But, as I tell the juries, "This, gentlemen, is a matter for your consideration, not mine, and I thank God for it."

As a matter of general effect, I agree with Marochetti, as I before said, and this was not a new idea to me, for it came across me on seeing the cathedral. But, if the Committee think otherwise, if any warning of mine is of any weight, let me impress most strongly on their minds that the employment of —— can only lead to utter failure; even supposing they should consent to paying for artistic superintendence in the manner proposed. —— knows little about any sort of glass-painting, and of an early style he knows no more than a child, and his friend even less. He has no idea of the *principle* upon which the old windows are composed, or of the defects in their composition; he does not understand the means of remedying those defects; but as I see that he has already made an impression on some of the Committee, I should not be surprised if, after all, he succeeded, and that the progress of glass-painting remained where it was, if the Committee hesitate at all about sending the matter abroad. However, I have said all I can, and I can only add to the formal words, "Gentlemen, consider your verdict," mind, if you are wrong, there can be no such thing as granting a new trial.

Believe me very truly yours,

C. Winston.

VIII.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 16th March, 1857.

I have been reading the report as carefully as if it were a special plea, and I think it admirable; nor does anything at present occur to me that would do anything else than weaken what you have so pointedly put.

If the Royal factory at Munich will execute the whole of the windows at 2*l.* a foot, by all means embrace their offer; for you will by this means secure a homogeneity which can be effected by no other means. It was the idea of employing different artists (foreigners), hinted at in the report, which I disliked, but I came over to it, as a matter of necessity, which is the way in which the report puts it.

I say, by all means throw antiquarianism overboard, if it and art are not capable of a union under existing circumstances. I am

so used to associate the brilliant and powerful hues of the thirteenth century with the designs of that period, that the latter would lose all interest in my eyes if unaccompanied with what I consider the essential condition to their good effect—glass of similar texture to that of the thirteenth century—and, therefore, as an antiquary, I should most strongly recommend, in the event of the Munich artists being employed, the adoption of a style as late as that of the early part of the sixteenth or end of the fifteenth century (which does not exclude the use of medallions), because I feel persuaded that this style will best harmonize with their workmanship. To-day I am not busy, so I shall make the attempt to see Mr. Stirling by calling on him.

Very truly yours,

C. Winston.

IX.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 25th March, 1857.

I have carefully read your last letter, and I have come to the same conclusion that you have done, viz. that we both mean the same thing, though our modes of expressing slightly differ. As to what you say of, as it were, striking out a new style of treatment, it is precisely what I meant when I wrote that book, 'An Inquiry into the Difference in Style in Painted Glass.' I had not looked at it for years till last night, when I read through the chapter beginning at p. 268. I was surprised to find how little of it I should wish altered, were it now to be rewritten; and I am pleased at this, and to observe that your thoughts, working from a different point, have tended so nearly to the same conclusion; because that chapter in particular exposed me to the censure and misrepresentation of the earnest men. I wish you would just run your eye over it; it is very short. I am quite sensible that the having been *steeped* in antiquarianism has to a certain extent obscured my judgment. I feel it more than I can express; if you could read my thoughts you would be astonished how much my mode of thinking is fettered by this sort of learning; but I am the more willing to follow the advice of others.

I made the second sketch with the circles, more for the sake of *contrast* than as indicating the sort of design I should myself prefer; and I think the only point on which there is the least difference between us is, the use of a plain, deep-coloured ground of colour, where anything is represented which conveys a greater idea of depth than a mere group of figures—as a landscape or a canopy. At the same time, I confess I see no difference in principle between

putting a group of figures, arranged on the arc of a semicircle, on a stiff, deep-coloured ground, and a similar group with a canopy over it, as in your sketches; and yet to my eye it does not *appear* to be right. But I should like to have your opinion upon it. Whether it is that seeing the ground at A,[1] and again seeing the ground at B, with the dark soffit C between, makes one at once suppose that it is sky, and not a mere coloured ground, I know not. But I confess, whenever I see a canopy thus represented, I always long to take a sponge and wash out the ground, till it becomes as light as the blue sky-colour used in the glass-paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the Brussels glass, the sky-blue ground within the arches, which breaks the figures, is as light as the sky, so that here there is no violation of probability; at the same time, one regards groups in panels (as in some of Raphael's works), backed by a deep-coloured ground, with complacency. Is not this the reason that, in the latter case, conventionality is not *too forced*, in the former it is? This has been a great puzzle to me a long while, for I am sure that in matters of taste it does not do to fetter oneself by what is called "a principle." In the earliest glass one does not observe the defect, owing, I suppose, to the very conventional manner in which the canopies are represented, not unlike the archways one sees in the Roman bas-reliefs; but in proportion as the canopy becomes more natural—as in Decorated work, for instance—it always seems to me that the deep-coloured ground becomes more obviously wrong. I think the artists of the sixteenth century must have felt some misgivings on this point, for I do not know of a single instance in which depth is *forced* upon one's mind by architectural lines or by a landscape, or by anything in short which carries one's eyes beyond the group, that the back colour does not recede by its lightness. At the same time, they got a great deal of stiff, deep colour by putting the head of their canopy-work on a stiff ground, so as to give the idea of the picture being framed in stiff ornament.

Yours very truly,

C. Winston.

X.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 6th April, 1857.

Many thanks for your most interesting and valuable communication. I had suspected that there must have been some corresponding practice in other branches of art; but your note is conclusive, and I shall deposit it in a place where I keep valuable documents.

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[1] This refers to a sketch in the letter.

I see no objection to such a canopy as you suggest, but then pains must be taken to make it appear to stand for no more than it professes to be. I am certain that the mediæval examples had their origin in pure ignorance. They did not give the projection of the hood, because they did not know how; and they did not show the recess of the niche, for a similar reason. I have several examples showing abortive attempts at perspective, or even of shading the interior of the niche, which, I think, quite bear out what I say, that it was ignorance, and ignorance alone, that occasioned the use of canopies so treated. This is not an uncommon form of fourteenth-century canopy-work,—which is certainly intended to represent a real spire.[1] The Early English canopies are the same in principle, though, owing to their greater simplicity, one hardly sees it at first. The great thing to guard against in these matters is the overstepping the bounds of conventionality, and for this reason I have hitherto preferred panels, ostensibly such, to any other species of decoration; yet I do not see any reason why the conventionality of a panel ought to be extended; only, as I said before, it must be done with judgment, not in the way some modern lights would have it done.

Yours most truly,

C. Winston.

XI.

18th May, 1857.

[The first part of this letter is wanting.]

I feel almost certain that the only modification the foreign design is capable of would be in the form of the ornament. I do not think it would be any improvement; for the German foliage is broader than the thirteenth century, and therefore more suitable to a poor material; but you might contrive to shade the foliage of the thirteenth century naturally, like drawings taken from the existing bosses in Glasgow Cathedral, and so, perhaps, one would do as well as the other. But I question whether anything would satisfy critics, short of imitating not merely the drawing, but the simple mode of execution of the thirteenth century. I know what an uproar was raised against Nixon's window in Westminster Abbey, where the ornament is copied from that of the sculpture of the thirteenth century, giving natural shadows, &c.

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[1] A sketch in the margin.

XII.

[No date, but apparently written May, 1857.]

The adoption of a later style would by no means necessitate any alteration in the general plan of a design; the groups could, I think, be put in medallions, but the character of the ornament would be more refined than that of the thirteenth century, and the colouring broader. The south transept of Angers Cathedral in France perfectly illustrates my views. There is a circular window there, the stone-work of which is of the thirteenth century, but the glazing is of the fifteenth: and it is worthy of remark that the general arrangement of the glazing is so exactly in accordance with a design of the thirteenth century, that it is clear it must have been copied from it, only such alterations being made in the detail as would bring it into the style of the fifteenth century in this respect.

I think, if this suggestion were adopted, you would completely obtain the benefit of an early fourteenth-century design, and at the same time introduce nothing which would not completely accord with the practice of the modern Munich glass-painters. I may, perhaps, be too straitlaced in my views, but this is the only point that has occurred to me worth mentioning.

Yours faithfully,

C. Winston.

XIII.

Dear Wilson, Temple, 24th May, 1857.

I have been at work from 10 till 3 to-day, making the drawing I enclose, for which I trust you will give me absolution for not having been to church. I see many things wrong, and I should like to do it all over again, but I really have no time, and therefore I send it to you with all its imperfections on its head, as I know you to be a good-natured critic.

I think it right on principle; at least it expresses generally all that I mean. And now I will give up my authorities. First, the idea of dividing a window into panels is taken from one of the clear-story windows at Bourges. I do not think there is any print of it extant, but my note says that the window is thus divided.[1]

The forms of panels I have adopted are from recollection of early tracery; and you will see something of the same sort in your windows at Glasgow, only the patterns there, I thought, would not do for glass, if exactly copied; some are so, as you will see on looking at the plate in your report.

[1] A sketch is inserted in this letter.

The way of getting colour in (red) is shown in a window from Trumpington, near Cambridge, temp. 1290, of which I have a drawing.

The border is treated just like some of those splendid Cinquecento ones at St. Peter's, Cologne, of which there is a notable example at Lichfield. Now the drawing on it could be easily taken from Early English scrollwork. I made the pattern a little too dark at first, and had to scratch it off, which, by the way, gives exactly the effect of a Cinquecento border that has suffered from age.

The scroll-work wants a great deal of amendment. . . . .

You must in charity accept the principal figure as an antique. I sketched it merely to show the sort of drapery I mean, which is so much more severe than that of the fifteenth century. Badly as I have done it, it puts the unhappy mediæval at top to shame, and shows, I think, to what quarter we ought to have recourse for models.

I have coloured the whole thing as rawly as I could, in order, as far as possible, to give the effect of modern glass, but with all my pains I fear I have coloured it more powerfully than the glass. But on looking at it carefully, the only thing I think I have been guilty of is, colouring the red deeper, perhaps, than it can be made to look in glass. However, this can be *diapered* in execution, and, without thinking of it, I was trying to give the effect of a diaper.

I beg to say that the shield at bottom is *not a bit* too big, for an archæologist at least.

Yours ever,

C. WINSTON.

P.S.—You must not expect to find any precedent of an old window like what I have sketched. I have only followed the old designs in principle. This is on the same principle as the ordinary figure and canopy windows, only the divisions are made with more panels, as in the medallion windows, so that the design is a union of both.

I am convinced that you cannot make a design severe enough by foliage alone; there must be decided forms. Ward and Nixon tried it repeatedly, and always failed like the rest. Foliage alone would do well for that beautiful German design, but then he has got solidity by his white ground in the spandrils at bottom. Mind, I still greatly prefer his design. This is only for a pis aller. None of the important parts of my sketch will ever run together; the ornaments—the scrolls I mean—may in some places, but this will not signify, as their chief use is to produce an effect of colour. You will find no such thin lines of white, against thin lines of yellow, as in that figure and canopy sketch you sent.

XIV.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 11th June, 1857.

I have not had time to look at your MS.; but the little pamphlet I have read with great satisfaction and profit. It is wonderful how you have hit the nail in saying that the employers ought to go to school. If the upper classes had but a little art instruction, we should not see glass-painting in England in so utterly a disgraceful state.

I agree with you most cordially in your condemnation of Gothic forms. The Houses of Parliament displease most antiquaries, because not one particle of the decoration is really like old—it is neither one thing nor the other. It has all the spirit of old work taken out of it. It is, in short, jemmy-Gothic*—the only expression which adequately conveys an idea of the Gothic of the nineteenth century.

The Gothic designs for the Government offices are bad; and the best of it is, that without a single exception they are all taken from foreign Gothic! So much for those who object to Italian as an exotic. Indeed the Italian designs have it all their own way; and mediævalism is signally defeated in the opinion of every one whom I have seen.

Yours very truly,

C. Winston.

XV.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 18th June, 1857.

Mr. M—— came here to-day, bringing with him a design of Capronnier's, with which he seemed much smitten, and the sketch you had made from the little rough sketch I sent. I told him that Capronnier's was far too mosaic in its character to produce any good effect in modern glass. Your sketch was already marked "Not approved. B. Hall," at which I was not surprised, for you had retained the fifteenth-century figure, instead of a thirteenth-century or a Greek one, as I had indicated. But as it seems decided that there are to be no more crypt-windows, for fear of making the place too dark, it does not much signify. But I want particularly to call your attention to studying the subject most deeply.

No good can be done with regard to the main windows without

[1] See note, p. 27.

making some of those Munich people come over and see the building; and then you must try and indoctrinate them with the principle, that what is wanted is a nineteenth-century design fit for nineteenth-century glass, but at the same time harmonizing with a thirteenth or fourteenth-century building. And to do this you must yourself study the subject; for without you I do not know where the Committee will be. . . .

Yours truly,

C. Winston.

XVI.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 26th June, 1857.

I wrote a very hurried note to you last evening, just as I was going out to dinner; and on reading your note more carefully afterwards, I perceive that I have not answered your argument as carefully as I could have done.

No doubt, if common sense alone were to be our guide, we should wish the windows to be done in the style with which the artist is most familiar, and which no doubt in this particular case is very much adapted to the only material we can procure to work upon. This was the universal practice in the middle ages. Every work, whether a restoration, an addition, or an embellishment, was done in the style of the time, without the least reference to the style of any other period; and the success of the mediæval works depends, I believe, almost entirely on the freedom thus accorded to the artist. But in these days we seek to make up for the loss of all original artistic power by a display of archæological learning. There is no use to attempt to stem the stream; all that we can hope to do is to give it a harmless direction.

We know that late German work is best suited to the modern material; but we also know that the archæologists would be in arms at what they would call such a violation of style as to put late fifteenth-century work into the windows of a thirteenth-century building. Therefore, as we are too wise to have imitations of the glass of the thirteenth century—knowing that such designs would produce a worse effect than the modern German, if executed in the modern material—we have recourse to a compromise which shall satisfy the archæologist, as far as such a thing can be done without relinquishing our own principle. And therefore we say, make your design broad and highly finished to suit the material, but let the forms employed resemble as nearly as possible the forms used in the architecture and art of the thirteenth century, in order to satisfy the archæologists. No doubt these forms must all undergo

a considerable change in order to enable the work to be executed softly and broadly; but still the whole object of adopting such forms at all is to exhibit a resemblance between the old architecture and its modern embellishment; and therefore it is that I am unable to see how we could answer to the archæologists if we adopted forms of ornament a good deal resembling forms of ornament in the thirteenth century, and yet declined to admit the use of forms of drapery a good deal resembling forms of drapery in the thirteenth century.

XVII.

Dear Wilson, Temple, 15th August, 1857.

* * * * * *

If any advance is to be made, it must be by employing the best artists in glass that can be got; and the best artists are unquestionably the Munich glass-painters. There is no one artist of the English school so far superior to the others as to render his employment a matter in the propriety of which all must concur. So far from it, if one English glass-painter were employed, it would be very difficult to deny the propriety of employing others; and if one or two were employed, why should not all, when the shades of difference between them are so slight? I am sure of this,—if once the question is opened, and the prestige of the Munich school given up, it will be all up with the Committee and everybody else.

I entirely agree that the Munich school is not by any means perfect; it is rather a school of art in the abstract than of art as applied to painted glass; and I say, as I always have said, that in point of execution Hedgeland's work at Norwich, and Nixon's at Christchurch, Bloomsbury, are more glass-like, and therefore more correct, than any of the Munich work. But, then, what is gained in technical excellence is lost in art; and considering that the lesson most needed to be inculcated on the English glass-painters is, that glass-painting ought to be artistical, I think, on the whole, that it is better to have art without transparency than transparency without art. I agree with Mr. Petit, that it seems hard that so large a place as Glasgow Cathedral should be given up to the Germans; but the question is, how is the thing to be carried through practically? Your subscribers will not wait ten or twelve years for an English school to develop itself: nothing will satisfy them but to fill the windows at once. It would therefore be impossible to leave a part of the cathedral blank for the reception of English glass when English artists shall be found able to execute it in a style of art as high as the Germans. So there is nothing

for it but to fill the whole cathedral with foreign glass, and to consider that by so doing a great step forward has been made; and to leave it to others to give opportunity for a display of improvement upon the Germans.

My own private impression is, that Marochetti and Ward might, with the new glass, execute the whole thing in a way greatly superior to the Germans; but I could not venture to recommend the experiment, for experiment it would be.

To show how sincere I am in this, I will mention what I am about in regard to the two new Temple windows, small and insignificant as they are as compared with your great work. We have got the glass perfect as a material. It is as fine as any old glass ever was; and I am certain that the ornamentation and general arrangement are right in refereuce to the position of the windows and the style of the building; but then I know that the groups will be failures—that is, they will not be so high in point of art, as the glass is excellent in colour, and the design correct. As money was no object to me, I did very seriously think of commissioning Marochetti to design the groups; but, though I have the greatest confidence in him, I, on consideration, came to the conclusion that the time had not yet arrived, and that it was better for me to work out the problem on which I am engaged, in the way in which I am certain that it must be worked out, with such resources as I possessed, instead of risking a total failure through Marochetti's misunderstanding my drift.

It would be affectation to conceal the fact that I feel my own strength as an archæologist. For twenty-five years and more I have been doing just what you are now doing—working hard at the subject *critically*—and therefore I have a right to entertain strong convictions; but Marochetti also would have a right to question these convictions, and it would be useless for me to attempt to argue the subject with him until he had himself likewise studied it. I can only convince him by an appeal to his eye-sight; and therefore I have thought it better to try to express my meaning clumsily, in the hope that hereafter I may be able, through his assistance, to see the thing properly carried out, than to waste more of my life in *arguments* which it is beyond the power of language to express so clearly as to exclude the possibility of their being misunderstood. If, therefore, I do not choose to risk a total failure in a small thing like this, you may easily understand my want of courage to recommend such a course to you. . . .

Therefore I say, *stick to Munich*, and be content that Glasgow shall be regarded as the cradle of that (superior to German) school of glass-painting which it is Mr. Petit's as well as your and my wish to see flourishing in this country.

I have gone to such a length that I have no time to caution you

against some hasty conclusions, in respect of the naturalness of the Decorated style, into which you seem to be fallen. I will write again.

Yours truly,

C. W.

XVIII.

Dear Wilson, Temple, 18th August, 1857.

* * * * * *

The style of your ornamentation must, in my opinion, be regulated by the texture of your material; for if there is one point more thoroughly established than another in point of fact, it is that in ancient glass the style of the ornamentation and treatment of the material varied with the texture of the material. And this was artistic enough, because a powerful material neither required, nor indeed would show, any very delicate ornamentation or soft shading; whereas a weaker sort of glass required more painter's manipulation to give it force; and paintings executed in it in the same simple way as the earlier ones would have looked thin and miserable.

I have been very much amused at noticing, throughout the notes on glass you lent me, your complaint of the want of half-tint. Of course you are right; and the reason was, that in every one of the glass-paintings you were criticising they had ignorantly used, along with the simple mode of execution practised in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a kind of glass far more pellucid and flimsy in texture than the glass of those centuries, or indeed than the glass of the fifteenth century, in which one always sees a great amount of half-tint. The Germans, being artists, and knowing how very pellucid is the ordinary material, have used more shadow in their glass-paintings than one sees in any old glass-painting; and perhaps they have gone a little too far in this respect; and it is in reference to the probability of the work being executed in Germany that I wished to make these suggestions to Mr. S—— and yourself.

I think that the character of the windows demands small pictures in medallions, whether consisting of groups or single figures. But, supposing that the artists of the fifteenth century had had to fill the window, and supposing that they had taken it into their heads to follow the more ancient designs (as was actually done by them in the south Rose of Angers Cathedral in France, and in the window of Conway church in Wales), they would have followed the ancient design only in general, and would have worked out all the details according to their own practice. Thus, they would have used

a great deal more of *tertiary* colours, broader draperies, broader ornaments, thinner lines, and more soft shades; though they would have retained the general arrangement of the design, the same general relation of the picture part to the ornamental part, the same general forms of panels, &c. But the effect, owing to the weaker nature of the material, might have been weaker than the older design; yet, owing to the harmony between the nature of the material and the mode of working it, the window would have looked only more delicate than the old one—not more flimsy than the old one, as our modern antiques do. . . . .

Then as regards other matters. There is nothing really new in the glass arrangements of the fourteenth century, as compared with those of the thirteenth, except those necessitated by the employment of mullioned windows. Thus, tracery-lights were a novelty, but the general design is borrowed from the Early English medallion; so also is the carrying a group of figures beyond the limits of a single light; but the prototype of this was the carrying a subject through two or more medallions in an Early English window.

The great feature of Decorated glass is the use of the canopy over the figure or group; but the thirteenth-century artists also used canopies (over single figures, and rarely over groups). But this use of the canopy is the very worst part of their practice; for the canopy is rather an oddly-terminated panel than a niche; and though I see no objection to canopies in the abstract, still I cannot but regard the use of the canopy in Decorated work, unimproved, as a strong proof of feeble art, it being so easy to cover a space with something like a tabernacle, as compared with the difficulty of arranging figures or groups in panels, as in the Early English medallion windows.

Then in the scrolls. The Early English, though taken from Roman work, are perfectly original; and they are rich and varied, and present to my mind a favourable contrast to the miserable tendril (and most unnatural, because in some respects copied from nature) scrolls of the Decorated period. This sort of scrolls, without the least effort, are capable of indefinite extension. There is rarely that subordination of the smaller coils to the bigger ones, which, as in Greek scroll-work, was so carefully attended to in Early English work.

The colouring of the glass—I mean the tint of individual pieces—was best in the twelfth century. It slightly deteriorated in the early part of the thirteenth, and continued with little variation until about 1370, when it very greatly altered for the worse. This close identity of colour makes it difficult sometimes to distinguish the white-pattern Decorated windows from the Early English white-pattern windows; but a closer inspection shows the superiority of the latter. . . . .

My own impression of Decorated glass is, that in some instances, and those invariably the earlier ones, one finds it as good nearly as the Early English, but that in the great majority of cases it is greatly inferior.

The best Decorated work is, however, about the date of your own Cathedral—the latter part of the reign of Edward I. This glass is transitional in character, Early English and Decorated details often occurring in the same window: sometimes in the same building, and in glass of the same age, one window has all its details, its scroll-work, &c., Early English, the other Decorated. And it was seeing this, and thereby that greater variety and *go* in the ornament might be ensured by adopting Early English details, that, on the whole, I thought you would do well to borrow from the Early English rather than from the Decorated style. Still, either would do. But if you did adopt the Early English, it would be a wise precaution to give a little more Greek character to the figures, and not, as is done by the old artists, to adopt the same style of figures without regard to the ornament: not that there need be much difference in the figures—not more than one sees between Nicholas Pisano's work and the Early English of the middle of the thirteenth century.

I think the Early English medallion is on the whole the most correct in point of principle when deep glass is going to be used; and the Decorated panel is so nearly alike that this would do as well. But I do not like canopies. I still think that an arrangement of panels, large enough to include single figures four feet high, will be the best thing, using Decorated or Early English ornament as you like. The shallower antiquaries would of course prefer the Decorated. But, as I have shown, you have your option. In speaking of Early English or thirteenth-century ornament, I do not mean that of the twelfth, of which there is much figured in the Bourges Book. All that from Sens and Canterbury there delineated is of the twelfth century. . . . .

I have spun an outrageous long yarn. I only wish you were here to see the examples with which I can exemplify it.

Yours very truly,

C. Winston.

XIX.

My dear Wilson, Rhyl, Flintshire, 1st Sept. 1857.

I return your lecture, which is excellent, and if it gets into print I wish you would send me a copy.

The only point on which I should be inclined to differ from what

you say, as it stands, is where you appear to me to rather too broadly class Cinquecento glass-paintings with those of a later style. I agree with you that the flatness of a wall-decoration is a thing not to be disregarded. But what I say is this,—there is no harm in having a landscape background done sufficiently well to tell its story, provided it is not so perfectly done as to produce illusion. Raphael's cartoons are, therefore, proper for wall-decorations, because, though they do represent objects in more than one plane, the representation, though amply sufficient for its purpose, is yet not carried to such a pitch as to destroy the flatness of the wall, as might have been the case if the landscape had been carried out to the pitch of some of Turner's. And so with regard to painted glass: if the artists are content to use coloured glass, and only enamel brown and the yellow stain, as the Cinquecento artists did, I defy them to produce so close an imitation of nature as shall prove illusive, and so destroy the wall-line, though nature shall yet be so far imitated as to render it unnecessary for the artist to write on the background "This is a landscape;" whereas, if enamel colouring is used, landscapes may be so accurately represented as to be illusive, as in some of the Munich glass in Cologne Cathedral. I grant that, if the principle is a rigid one, the Cinquecento artists are wrong. But my experience of law makes me indifferent to the charge of things being contrary to principle, even in art; for how often does it turn out that truth resides in an exception to a principle! In other words, what are often called principles are, in fact, nothing but general rules—highly useful when treated as general rules, but which, when relied on as principles, are too often found to prove mere dogmas, resting on too narrow a foundation.

Yours truly,

C. Winston.

XX.

My dear Wilson, Swan, Wolverhampton, 17th Sept. 1857.

My holidays are over, and I am holding the courts of this district till the end of October, when I return to town.

I have seen more than a usual quantity of modern glass during my late peregrinations in England and Wales, and certainly, if anything, the art has lowered even during the last year. . . . . .

Yesterday I had a blank day, which I partly filled up by a walk to B ——, where is a window by ——, which I think he wanted you to see. Certainly, as times go, it is a very commendable work; but its chief merit, if I am not greatly mistaken, consists in its being constructed of the new material, which certainly gives it a substance and tone which one looks for in vain in ordinary modern works.

The window is a white pattern window of three lights, with two medallions, containing pictures, in each light. The window itself is early Edw. II., and the style of the glass is unexceptionable. The figures are very well drawn. The east window of the south aisle of the same church is by ——. It is also a white pattern window of five lights, with two medallions in each light. The figures displease me; yet, making allowance for the difference of material, ——'s being of ordinary glass, I confess I saw but very little to choose between the two windows when seen from a distance. And this proves the wisdom of your objection to small groups of figures. At a distance one sees nothing but a congeries of bits of glass, and one judges of the window merely as of a coloured pattern, without regard to drawing; and this, I fancy, is the reason that educated men so often talk without disgust of modern windows, the artistic part of which is considerably below zero. I am, therefore, more than ever persuaded of the truth of your views that the Glasgow windows should be filled with groups and single figures of as large a size as the conditions imposed by the heavy mullions in the windows will admit, and consequently that Hubner's idea of the general arrangement is the right one, and that your aim should be to modify this arrangement in conformity with the requirements of the antiquarian critics.

How completely one sees in all this that the Gothic is not the architectural style for the nineteenth century! It may present its broad masses, but they are cut up into small parts—a truly barbaric feature. With a religion at once simple and sublime, one would think common sense would suggest for its service a style far more allied to the Greek than the Gothic—a style admitting of broad square masses, yet of varied outline, of which one sees the most wonderful hints at every turn in the furnaces, the forges, the warehouses, and mills, that cover the coalfields here. I am satisfied that I could soon fill a sketch-book with some of the most excellent ideas that can be conceived from these rough blocks. Well, some day, I suppose, people will come to their senses, and then we shall see art flourish. In the interim all its votaries must try to push it as far as their chains will allow.

Yours very truly,

C. WINSTON.

XXI.

MY DEAR WILSON, October, 1857.

My object in writing is to put you on your guard against supposing that the Decorated style is, in this country at least, and especially in painted glass, a more progressive style than the Early

English; though I do not see that this question has much practical bearing on the matter in hand. All my researches tend to the conclusion that the pure Byzantine style ended about 1170, about which period the commencement of modern art may be dated. No doubt, in some respects, as in the formation of the eye, you see the influence of Byzantine art until the early part of the fourteenth century; but then these peculiarities were succeeded by other conventionalities even further removed from nature; and upon the whole I should say that, in drawing and expression, mediæval art reached its perfection about the middle of the thirteenth century, and continued in a declining state until it arose again to perfection in the sixteenth century. Nothing can be worse than the figure-drawing in the glass-paintings of even as early a period as the reign of Edward II. They are most abominable conventionalisms, entirely devoid of that *go* which one sees so clearly in the roughest works of the first half of the thirteenth century. The faces are flat and uninteresting, the attitudes contorted and affected, and the draperies heavy and so full of large folds as to utterly fail to suggest the idea of there being a human body underneath. I have no doubt that it is the bad art of the decorated figures and glass generally that makes the Decorated period so great a favourite with our enlightened glasswrights. I know from experience that it takes double the time and trouble to copy an Early English figure, generally, that it does to copy a Decorated one. Still no doubt in the early part of the fourteenth century, or latter part of the thirteenth, there is some fine work, not unlike the style of Nicholas Pisano; but this soon went out, and was succeeded by the conventional style I have mentioned.

The Early English, as it appears to me, is a development of the ancient Greek style, possessing, with much of its grace, a great deal of a different feeling altogether, which one sees in its perfect development in the works of Raphael. No doubt, here and there, one meets with figures in which the Byzantine type was more strictly adhered to, especially in the representations of our Lord, and these are the works which are given on a large scale in the Bourges Book; but I can assure you these are the exceptions and not the rule, and that there is more varied expression, more natural movement, and infinitely more dignity in the figures of the thirteenth-century glass-paintings up to about 1270, than there is at any subsequent period; and I think it is so in the sculpture. The figures on the south doorway at Lincoln, figured in Flaxman's work on sculpture, are as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, and it is astonishing how fine, like the Greek, and yet how much less conventional and natural, are their draperies; whereas the sculpture in the Angel choir, which is about twenty-five years later, is inferior, though certainly fine. There are the thick-folded draperies and the flat faces that one sees

in the later work. Cockerell says that these are the finest of the two; but I doubt if you would think so if you compared the originals together. I know it is a great deal easier to draw the choir figures than those of the south door, which to me is a strong proof that there is *more* in the latter than in the former; and so it is in the French sculpture. The best is about the middle of the thirteenth century; after this it becomes mannered, just as ours does. I grant that there is a very Greek feeling in the thirteenth-century draperies; but those of the fourteenth only show what things must come to when there is no standard of excellence present to the eye of the sculptor, or preserved in his mind by the influence of tradition. It was Greek art that elevated the mediæval artists of the thirteenth century, just as it did the mediæval artists of the sixteenth; it was the absence of Greek art, or of the tradition of it, that caused the mediæval artists to flounder on in the most outrageous and unnatural conventionality, from the latter part of the thirteenth century till the beginning of the sixteenth; yet the thirteenth-century art is not Byzantine—it is mediæval art, sublimated by the traditions of the Byzantine.

* * * * * *

[The remainder of this letter (which is without date) is wanting.]

XXII.

My dear Wilson, Rhyl, Flintshire, 8th Nov. 1857.

I have completed my work in the courts, and I am here airing myself till Tuesday, when I go on a visit to Shrewsbury, and thence to London on Saturday; and as idleness is the root of mischief, I propose to give you a chapter on *Dirt*, if that is not a misnomer, the authoritative definition of the subject being "matter in the wrong place."

The question of "la patina" has engaged my attention for some time, and the conclusion I have long since arrived at is precisely the same as Mr. Ainmüller's. No manipulation that would not be destructive of the painting will produce the same broken effect that time produces. For instance, you may diaper the glass as cleverly as possible, yet it will look flat and hard, unless you make the ground of the diaper deeper or lighter in places quite irregularly, irrespective of the pattern. So with regard to shadows or anything else: the effect of age is *plus* all efforts of art: it softens what would otherwise be harsh, without necessarily impairing the painting. This is exemplified in those windows at King's College, Cambridge, which have been cleaned. The black dirt which obscured or interfered with the painting has been removed; but the lighter discoloration, the *beeswing* of age, still remains and softens all the flat parts; and the difficulty has always been how to produce this admirable effect

by artificial means. At Ely Cathedral you must have observed many wonderful efforts of genius in this particular; but that they should have all failed is not surprising, when you perceive that the mode of applying the *dirt* is precisely the reverse of nature's.

In all English and French glass that I have seen *antiquated*, the process has been to bedaub the whole individual piece, and then to rub away some of the dirt in the centre of the piece; whereas nature bedaubs the centre of the piece, leaving, in general, a considerable space near the leads, all round the edges, comparatively clear. The effect in the former case is, when the pieces of glass are very small, to make the whole design look as if it were *greasy*—as if it were made up of lumps of different-coloured fats, each lump having its own proper high light, like the little dumplings one sees swimming about in mutton-broth; whilst the effect in the latter case is to impart that sparkling brilliancy which is so much admired. I will make on the next sheet a diagram of the two methods, A being the first, B the second.

I have tried all sorts of ways to produce the effect B on glass, without the smallest success, until it suddenly occurred to me that if something could be applied to glass, after it had been leaded together, and which would *stick* without being burned, at all events one would have the advantage of applying the stuff judiciously in those parts, and in such proportions as would produce the best effect, in the same way as I touch up my own drawings, after they are otherwise finished, with a view to produce the effect of "la patina," which process seems so greatly to have pleased Marochetti; and then I recollected I had seen mortar adhering to glass, which probably had been there 400 or 500 years, as may often be observed in tracery lights: so I thought I would try, and the effect was perfect. The projection of the leads prevented the brush from touching the glass near the edges of the different pieces, which therefore remained clear, except where accidentally splashed; whilst I could apply the composition at pleasure, exactly as I touched up my own drawings.

The next improvement was to use *hydraulic lime* instead of common lime, because the magnesia in it would occasion a better *set*, and so prevent the mortar being washed off. Indeed, mortar of this kind cannot be removed, when once set, except by weak acid purposely applied. I found a brush, like a paste-brush or flat varnish-brush, about an inch wide, was the best instrument for applying the mortar, which last ought to be in a rather more liquid state than that in which it is used in bricklayer's work. The whiteness of the mortar could easily be corrected by dusting the work over with a little soot or lampblack, after the operation is completed. The best way is to turn the glass upon the easel, so that the outside of it

is next you, to which, in preference to the painted side, the dirt should be applied.

This dirtying is of little use unless the material itself resembles the old in texture. When it does, I cannot tell the old from the new, the imitation of "la patina" being so exact. Any window that is intended to be far from the eye would be improved by a slight application, used with judgment and with an artistic eye.

Here endeth the chapter on Dirt. You will understand I advocate its use with great caution and art, so as to improve what is already good in colour, tone, and drawing, not as a substitute for all or any of these things, as some of our glasswrights employ it.

Yours truly,

C. Winston.

XXIII.

My dear Wilson,

Since my return home I have been too much engaged to write until now. The practice to which you allude of *touching up* painted windows, after they are leaded up, with a colour which is not fixed to the glass by burning, and which must fall off as soon as the vehicle with which it is mixed loses its tenacity, as it must be expected to do within a few years, is one unfortunately too common in this country. It is very rarely that one does not detect the practice, in any groups of figures at least. When I was Associate Juror in the 1851 Exhibition, it fell to my lot to examine very carefully all the glass-paintings in the gallery, and I found that the practice I have mentioned was not confined to the English, but very largely indulged in by the French glass-painters; but I failed to detect it in any of the German glass-paintings, which seemed on the whole to be more conscientiously executed than any of the others. You may always detect it by throwing the light upon the surface of the glass-painting; you will then see that the touching up is of a different colour from the enamel, and of course it can be easily scraped off. It will last, according to the vehicle with which it is mixed: I dare say that turpentine would last from eighteen to twenty years. Mr. —— touched up his three east windows in our church here with common oil paint to give them solidity, which peeled off in places in five or six years, and last year it was so bad that the windows were this autumn painted over again at the back. I think they look worse than they did; but in two or three years they will be uniform in appearance, owing to the peeling off of the paint.

No glass-painting which owes part of its effect to an application of a fleeting nature can be regarded as a sound work. The application of mortar stands on a different footing. This is used merely to anticipate the effect of age and to give an artificial "patina," which, when the real "patina" forms in other parts, can easily be removed.

I have seen the two new windows in the Temple Church, and they are an excellent lesson. The material itself is perfect, and the tone, and colour, and solidity, as good as the old. The design also I like, though it could be improved, and the figure-drawing is far in advance of that in the other windows; and upon the whole, as a mere antiquary, my experience of the Temple windows has made me lean more to Munich than before. But, seriously speaking, pray do not commit yourself in any way to anybody until you have had further opportunity of looking at the glass at Wells and Gloucester.

I do so much want to have a talk with you, and indeed I would accompany you to Wells; at all events to Gloucester, and to New College, Oxford. Believe me, we have not got to the bottom of this subject yet. My notions have much expanded of late.

XXIV.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 26th December, 1857.

Many thanks for your note and the paper. You have convinced me that I am wrong on one point, and that I have expressed myself too carelessly on another.

First, when I said that I could not understand how fourteenth-century ornament could be made to harmonize with Hubner's figures, I quite forgot what you say, that it could be adapted so as to harmonize; in which I quite agree. I had in my mind, at the time I wrote, only the fourteenth-century ornament, *as it exists*, in all its stiffness, flatness, and simplicity, and only thought of two styles joining, as any two styles would, if employed without modification.

Secondly, I did not for one moment mean, however I may have expressed myself, to recommend Nicholas Pisano's style as a model, except for its sentiment, and for those points in respect of which you accept it. What I did mean was this; it is that shallow pedantic antiquarianism which constitutes the great stumbling-block; and the subtle way of going to work is, I think, to turn their flank, rather than attack their position too openly. Now the style of drapery which is always associated with fourteenth-century work is a severe close style like that of the Greeks, and not a voluminous style like that of Raphael and the men of the sixteenth century generally; and it was to show what was the exact style of drapery

that actually was used in the fourteenth century, that I alluded to Nicholas Pisano, not for the purpose of copying him, but in order that the Germans might see the type of drapery that antiquaries would admire, and be in perfect harmony with the architecture, and thus be able to select out of the numerous styles of good drapery one that came nearest, in its general character, to that of N. Pisano's. By this means they might satisfy every artistic requirement, and yet at the same time produce a style of drapery severe, close, and of thin texture (though not so thin as the real Greek, which harmonizes most with the architecture of the thirteenth century), which in its general contour would so completely resemble the general effect of N. Pisano's as would silence all crotchety cavillers. The two most rascally sketches on the other side, the one Greek, the other Raphael, will show you what I mean.

Compare them with any print of Nicholas Pisano's, and you will see exactly what I mean. There is a great deal of sixteenth-century drapery that would do better than Greek, as being more natural; but I am aware that to an artist this needs only to be hinted to be understood. All I fear is, that if the Germans' attention is not called to the ordinary type of the fourteenth-century drapery, they will adopt something that will be too wide from it, and so give the enemies of art cause to blaspheme. If you could see some photographs of Decorated sculptured figures, this would even be better than a print of N. Pisano's.

Yours most truly,

C. Winston.

XXV.

My dear Wilson, Rhyl, Flintshire, 24th March, 1860.

I found your letter and Sir A. Alison's opinion (whereat my soul receiveth comfort) on my return here from, I think, the worst expedition in respect of rain, wind, and snow amongst the mountains that has ever fallen to the lot of man to endure since Hannibal passed the Alps. The only compensation was the magnitude of the waterfalls, some of which were really splendid. I hope to be back in London on Thursday next, when I will address myself to the devout meditation of your lecture.

I am afraid what you say is too true as to the influence of easel-painting on glass-painting, and the taste for pretty effects instead of great and broad ones. But I do not quite follow you in your argument about monumental art. No doubt you are perfectly right in saying that the old glass-painters did not scribble about principles, nor did any old artists. They *did* the thing, and left it to smaller folks to

discourse—often very absurdly—about the principles, or supposed principles, upon which they acted.

After the thirteenth century (the medallion era) I believe that all the old glass-painters were as wrong on principle as the poor Cinquecento glass-painters who have been so abused. The only difference between them was this,—the old fellows stuck their saints under niches, or backed by a landscape, into the holes provided for them by the tracery, and cared little if figures cheek-by-jowl were drawn to different scales. All they seem to have thought about was, how to fill a large space or a small one in precisely the same manner. The "monumental flatness," as I have heard it called, of their works was but the result of ignorance of the method of representing light and shade; in which respect their works bear the same analogy to those of the Cinquecento artists, as the contemporary oil-paintings bear to what Vasari calls the "new manner."

The Cinquecento practice of disregarding mullions, &c., arose from an artistic rebellion against the fetters of mediævalism. Glass-paintings did not cease to be glass-paintings until the "new manner" in oils was so imbibed by the glass-painters that they strove to over-finish and to *imitate the effect of oil;* in which they necessarily failed. Sir Joshua Reynolds's and West's works perpetuated the error in execution—I mean technical execution; grand and monumental as their designs are, they are not glass-paintings of so high an order as the productions of the Cinquecento, or even early sixteenth-century Gothic school. . . . . .

Yours,

C. Winston.

XXVI.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 22nd Sept. 1861.

After twenty-four hours' rumination, I have the more completely settled down into an opinion that glass-painting has been more effectually raised from the mire, and set alongside of and on an equality with the sister arts, by what has been done at Glasgow, than by anything else that I have yet seen in Europe. Had Ainmüller been allowed to go on in his own old way, colouring the glass with enamel colours, and laying the high lights down with enamel, you would have had works beautiful, no doubt, in so far as good drawing and excellent composition could have secured beauty, but which would have tended to an effect entirely at variance with the intention of the builders of the cathedral, since they would have converted the window-openings into, apparently, panels of solid wall, painted in fresco—an effect which is actually produced in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, the windows of

which have been executed by M. Maréchal, of Metz, in the ordinary "German manner." But by your insisting upon the use of coloured (pot-metal) glass, as the colouring matter, and only allowing of enamel-paint as shadow, and, above all, by retaining clear high lights, works have been obtained which are not likely ever to be mistaken for anything else than painted glass windows. And in this respect the men of Glasgow have read the world a lesson, for which they are entitled to the consideration and gratitude of every one learned enough to appreciate the additional beauty imparted to any sort of decoration by mere force of its having been executed in conformity with its own peculiar mechanical and intrinsic conditions.

I have been so accustomed, until now, to see all such modern glass-paintings as have the least title to be called works of art executed on a principle entirely opposed to a due display of the most beautiful of the essential properties of glass, namely, its translucency, that perhaps I may have hardly done justice to the artistic drawing and composition of the Glasgow windows—considered as mere designs—in my admiration of them as glass-paintings. Yet I am sufficiently impressed with a sense of their artistic merits to enable me to express a conviction that, considering each one as a whole, that is, as an artistic glass-painting, and comparing it with one of the best ancient examples, the balance of excellence does remain with the modern German window. This conclusion was, I admit, wholly unexpected, and was, as it were, forced upon me by my ten hours' continuous and laborious scrutiny of the glass in the cathedral. And therefore, to prove to myself that I am not dreaming, I am writing down the steps which led to my conversion, a process which may perhaps not be without some practical use, if it should show in what respects I venture to think that even these windows are susceptible of improvement.

As the glass-paintings which most resemble these in artistic merit and refinement are the Cinquecento, and as the Lichfield glass is the finest Cinquecento example that I am acquainted with, and moreover is that with which I am most familiar, and of which my memory is the strongest, I having so recently studied it, I make my comparison between the Lichfield glass and the Glasgow. It must be admitted, of course, that, in point of tone and richness of colour, the Lichfield glass is superior, in a very high degree, to the Glasgow. This superiority is principally owing to the constitution of the ancient material; and it will therefore continue to exist until the moderns have learned the art of making glass identical in its chemical constituents and mechanical formation with that of the middle of the sixteenth century. And this can be done only by continuing the chemical analyses initiated by my friends here, and working them out synthetically, as I recommended to Ainmüller.

Whether the use of glass identical with the old in texture would be compatible with that excessive delicacy of pictorial manipulation which is so charming in the Glasgow windows, is perhaps doubtful. I incline to think that it would be incompatible; but of this I feel persuaded, that any loss in delicacy of execution would be more than compensated by an increase of power in general effect; and therefore I do not hesitate to recommend the pressing upon Ainmüller the necessity of an improved material: the rather, because it is clear that nothing will conduce more to the popularity of *artistical* glass-painting than the introduction of tone and richness of colour. It is the effect of their colour which makes old windows so prized by the most learned and the most ignorant alike, and causes the latter to be easily blinded to the defects of modern glass-painting, provided that, by means of scumbling and other unlawful expedients, the glass is somewhat toned down from its original fierceness. I have no sort of doubt that, if the Glasgow windows were smeared over with brown paint and wax, to their ruin as works of art, they would gain in the estimation of ninety-nine out of every hundred spectators, from some of whom we might reasonably expect better judgment; but this shows how important an ingredient in glass-painting is colour of a fine rich subdued tone, and how foolish it is for great artists to neglect taking the only practical steps for obtaining it. But however one may regret, on looking at the Glasgow windows, the absence of colour in a low key, such as one sees in the Lichfield glass, there is no denying that, regarded as harmonies of colours in a high key, these windows are unrivalled: and, whether it is owing to my sense of colour being more shrewdly tickled by a perfect harmony of colour in a high key than in a low one,—or whatever else the cause may be,—I confess I was more pleasurably affected by the harmonies of the lighter colours in some of these windows, than I ever remember myself to have been by those of the old ones. I allude particularly to the landscape backgrounds in Strahüber's windows for Mr. Stirling of Keir, in the choir, and in his window in the nave, for Lord Home. This shows, therefore, that a high key of colour has its beauties, though they may refuse to exhibit themselves except upon the persuasion of those who are capable of feeling them keenly. It would be wrong, therefore, to say that these windows, like the generality of modern ones, are wholly inferior to the old ones in point of colour. Upon the whole they are, I think, inferior; but they are only inferior upon the balance; they have, in the stronger colours, defects such as one deplores, and in the lighter colours excellences such as I have never seen in ancient glass. The defectiveness of the stronger colours could not, I think, be wholly removed without injury to the lighter colours; because it would necessitate a change of key. And it may be a question how far it may be desirable to

effect an alteration of key, though my own feeling is certainly in favour of an alteration into a lower key, thinking that more would, on the whole, be gained than lost by the change. But this I can safely recommend,—the qualification of the stronger colours, such as green and red and blue, these in their order, without any change of key, by the simple expedient of *diapering* them, whether used in draperies or in plain grounds.

But whatever opinion we may hold in respect of the inferiority of the new to the old glass in colour, there can be no doubt that, in every other respect, the superiority is entirely on the side of the new. Hess's prophets are immeasurably finer than anything that has yet been seen in old glass. There is nothing in old glass to surpass any of Strahüber's compositions; and though some of the designs in the Lichfield glass may, in composition, be superior to those of the least successful of the designs at Glasgow, still, in *execution*, the Glasgow designs are superior. In all of the Lichfield glass there is a certain coarseness and carelessness of execution which would contrast unfavourably with the care, and finish, and delicacy displayed in the Glasgow windows. The old style, though wonderfully effective, is a rough-and-ready style after all. They were dexterous manipulators, rather than accomplished artists. And I should not hesitate to say that in every instance the designs (many of which were evidently the work of very great artists) have suffered in the execution upon the glass. This I do not think can be generally said of the Glasgow glass. Here and there, no doubt, there is a timidity of execution; but I am sure that, if the least successful were compared with the best of the Lichfield windows, it would be seen that correctness of drawing was entirely on the side of the moderns. Indeed, so convinced am I of the superiority of the German glass over the old, in technical excellence of every kind, and in composition and drawing generally, and in effects of broken colour, that upon the whole I cannot withhold the palm from the former: it must be considered to be an improvement upon old glass.

Of course, as an antiquary, I could easily pick holes in many things, especially in the heraldry. It was also impossible not to see, when one looked for it, that the general character of the draperies was that of the sixteenth century, whilst that of the ornament was of the fourteenth. But the anachronism was so disguised by the similarity of execution—the same amount of shadow and finish having been given to the ornament as to the figures—that it ceased to be offensive, or even noticeable at first sight. I think a wise discretion was exercised in selecting the general style of ornament from that of the fourteenth century; but this has been sufficiently modified not to contrast with the figures, whilst it remains sufficiently like that of the early part of the fourteenth, or end of the thirteenth century, not to disagree with the architectural details of

the building. If I was asked to say what I thought was the style of the painted glass, I should answer that it was in the style of the nineteenth century, modified to suit the character of a building of the reign of Edward I., and this I believe to be the absolute truth. The windows sufficiently agree with the character of the building, without being so rigidly archaic as to exclude the improvements of modern art; and I think that it would have been mere pedantry to have insisted on a more cordial agreement between the glass and the architecture. Indeed, a perfect conformity between the styles of the two would have been absolutely impossible, unless the donors of the windows would have agreed to forego their heraldry,—the clergy, their choice of subjects,—the people, writing such as they could read,—the artists, their art;—in fine, unless everything had been given up which makes these windows worth having. Another, and of itself a complete bar to perfect conformity between the glass and the architecture, would have been the difference that exists between the material, as now made, and that used in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. This consideration may seem to some to be frivolous. All I know is, that to the true antiquary a consideration of the nature of the material is as inseparably connected with an investigation of the date of a painted window, as a consideration of its heraldry, its lettering, its art, can possibly be. Unless there is a perfect agreement in all these things, he must be a poor antiquary indeed who cannot pronounce the work, without hesitation, to be spurious. As, therefore, an exact conformity was, in the nature of things, impossible, a latitude such as that which has enabled the artists to make the windows such as they are—real works of fine art in painted glass—was most properly permitted.

Believe me most truly yours,

C. Winston.

XXVII.

My dear Wilson, Rhyl, Flintshire, 16th Oct. 1861.

You have indeed done good service. . . . .

I have written a letter of chemical details of fourteen pages to Ainmüller, and have sent also a box of specimens to him, on the old principle of seeing is believing. But before entering on this matter I wrote as follows:—Allow me to express the very great pleasure received from examining last month the magnificent windows of Glasgow Cathedral, which have been executed by your establishment. I am well acquainted with most of the glass-paintings which have been, during several years past, executed under your direction for various places, including those at the Maria Hilf Church at Munich,

at Cologne Cathedral, and at Peterhouse College, Cambridge. But the glass-paintings at Glasgow do, in my opinion, surpass them all, as works in painted glass. I say emphatically—as works in painted glass; because the employment by your establishment of artists enjoying a European reputation, to make the cartoons, has always ensured to your works an artistic excellence, which favourably distinguishes them from all other, modern and even ancient. But it is in respect of the great superiority as glass-painting over all others, that I particularly refer to the windows of Glasgow Cathedral. I venture to attribute this superiority to your having executed them according to the method pursued in the ancient glass-paintings of the best period, that is between 1505 and 1550, in which no enamel colours are used except for outlines and shadow. By this means you have imparted to these works a peculiar brilliancy and delicacy which characterise them as glass-paintings, and effectually distinguish them from paintings on opaque surfaces, such as paintings in oil and fresco. And I cannot but think that it is partly on account of the idea, which their pellucid appearance forces upon the mind, that they are glass-paintings, and nothing else,—partly on account of the manipulation of the paintings not having been too highly elaborated,—that it happens that the lead-work (verbleiung) and the iron bars or arming of these windows are found to be no disfigurement to the pictures. On the contrary, the effect of the glass-painting is actually improved by these appendages; which,—however out of place and disagreeable they may seem in a glass-painting which resembles oil or fresco painting in the elaboration of its execution,—are yet recognized as necessary and essential to what is shown undisguisedly to be nothing else than a glass-window. It is true that I have seen paintings upon glass, both from your establishment, and from Dresden, Brussels, Metz, and particularly Milan, that are more exquisitely finished, and (by means of enamels) more delicately and variously coloured, than these windows of Glasgow Cathedral; but I always observed that in proportion as in this respect they approached the effect of paintings upon canvas, in fresco, or on china, so did they lose brilliancy and pellucidness, and the less did their general character appear to harmonize with the harsh black lines of the lead-work and iron bars; which, therefore, in a proportionate degree, struck me as being blemishes in the picture.

This is why I prefer the Glasgow windows so greatly to any others of modern times: indeed, considered as glass-painting, they appear to me to touch perfection. I perceived in them all how deeply the ancient glass-paintings had been studied; how, whilst adopting the ancient method, you had improved upon it, as, for instance, by using a blue enamel to shade upon purple-coloured glass, a purple enamel to shade upon blue-coloured glass, instead of uniformly employing a brown enamel for the purpose of shading; and I also observed in some of the windows effects

of landscape such as I have certainly never seen equalled in any ancient glass-painting. I allude particularly to the landscape in a window executed from a design by Strahüber for Mr. Stirling of Keir, in which the landscape was rosy and full of sunshine, and yet perfectly preserved its distance. A similar effect was also observable in another window from a design by the same artist for the Earl of Home. And I most highly admired the simple manner in which these beautiful effects were produced, as being so entirely in accordance with the principle of true glass-painting.

It is unnecessary for me to say anything in praise of the pictures themselves—the excellent drawing and arrangement of the groups, the dignity of the single figures, the draperies so well suited in their manner for painted glass, &c.—for excellence of this kind was ensured by your having had recourse for the cartoons to such artists as Professor Von Hess, Strahüber, Von Schwinde, &c.; but I cannot omit again to express my extreme satisfaction at everything connected with these windows which was the especial work of your establishment, such as the harmony of the colouring and the breadth of the effect; and it gives me great pleasure to be able to say that the window which seemed to be most agreeable in respect of ornamentation was the one which was executed from your own designs for Mr. Walter Stirling. I have no hesitation in declaring that, in my humble opinion, when we consider the high art displayed in the figures, and the skill shown in the execution of these windows as glass-paintings, the windows of Glasgow Cathedral are absolutely unrivalled. No modern work approaches them, and upon the whole they are certainly superior to any ancient work.

There is one thing, however, that I notice in these windows which now brings me to the consideration of your letter of the 18th August.

Each of your windows is as perfect a harmony of colour as the finest old window can be pronounced to be; but the difference is that in your windows the harmony is in a *high key* of colour, whilst in the old windows the harmony is in a *low key* of colour. Now, a harmony in a low key of colour is undoubtedly more agreeable than a harmony in a high key, and so thought that prince of colourists Titian; for it is remarkable that all his blues, greens, yellows, reds, and indeed all other hues, are low in tone, and are by no means pure colours. You should, therefore, endeavour to prevail upon your glass-maker to furnish your establishment with glass of a lower tone of colour than that which has been used in the Glasgow windows, especially with green glass, blue glass, and red glass of a lower tone; these being the three colours, and particularly the two first named, which most struck me as being too high in key in the Glasgow windows. . . . .

[The remainder of this letter is wanting.]

XXVIII.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 5th April, 1862.

I am delighted to think that you are able to attack the clearstory, the windows of which I specially remember, for it is the most elegant row of clearstory windows that I know of.

When you speak of a dark effect there, you have Bourges in your mind. But I question whether, considering the difference between the lower glass and that at Bourges, you would not get a more striking effect by making the general *fond* of these windows a white pattern very like that of the west window. Of these patterns there is a great abundance in Germany. Cologne Cathedral, for instance, is full of them, so are Strasburg, Freyburg, &c.; and it is true that the practice of the fourteenth century was, I think I may say universally, in favour of white patterns, with, or without, the insertion of figures and canopies, heraldry, &c., for clearstory windows. Even in the thirteenth century, the leaning was in favour of white patterns; but this may have been from economical principles in both centuries. Certainly the work was more *scamped* in the fourteenth century than the thirteenth. Bourges, Canterbury, and Tours, so far as it goes, have all dark clearstories; but the later cathedrals of the thirteenth century have white patterns in their clearstories — Salisbury for instance, Lincoln, and all the transitional ones, as well as those in the "Decorated" style. Exeter Cathedral is a good specimen of the partly ornamental, partly pictorial treatment. So is Gloucester. You might if you liked have a single figure, without a canopy, on an ornamental quarry-ground, in each light. A row of *splotches* of colour along the bottoms of the windows, with *grisaille* above, would tell wonderfully, and quite carry the idea, suggested by the west window, upwards.

Most truly yours,

C. Winston.

XXIX.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 23rd June, 1862.

I cannot but think that the green you mention is an arrow from my quiver. For I most particularly called their attention to the matter in my letters, and moreover sent them some fine old specimens for imitation. A good olive can be made from sulphate of iron; but I forget whether I mentioned this. It all shows, however, that these Germans are doing their best, and that they are not above taking a friendly hint.

You are perfectly right in letting people know *who* are the designers

of these windows. For if they had been designed by English artists of equal or corresponding reputation, their very names would have carried all before them.

There was an excellent article in the 'Times' the other day, on the French artists, and their works, not without bearing on the subject of glass-painting. The writer showed that the French artists had more regard to fame, and less to pelf, than ours. So, no doubt, have the Germans. Hence they will condescend to make designs for painted glass, at moderate rates; whereas ours will not, unless they are paid at the same rate as if they were employed for a corresponding time on paintings for Mr. Smith's or Mr. Robinson's back-parlour. This, therefore, gives inferior men a monopoly of the opportunities for lasting fame, and nobody ought, under these circumstances, to complain if those who are displeased with the performances of these inferior men betake themselves to the more liberal and congenial men of art in Germany. . . . .

Yours most truly,

C. Winston.

XXX.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 18th Jan. 1863.

I saw yesterday at Hughes's five of the lights intended for Glasgow; four for the chapter-house and one for the crypt. I shall be curious to know your opinion of them when they are up in their place.

My impression is that they will be valuable, as enabling a fair comparison to be made between our modern glass and the German. For they are the best that Hughes has yet done, and they are, I think, superior to anything we saw in the late Exhibition, of English performance.

In these lights you have the best of the modern material; and the depth of shade is as great as you would find at St. Gudule's. Moreover the backgrounds, though they do not quite stick to the figures, are yet flat enough to suit the most bigoted mediævalist. The detail of the canopy-work is moreover unexceptionable; so that you have the mediæval idea "carried out" as the fashion is.

But does the thing accord better with the character of the ancient architecture than the German windows? This is the problem, which I cannot but think these windows will solve. Speaking strictly as an antiquary, I feel sure that I should say that they harmonized with the ancient architecture not one bit more than what you have already; because I see in every direction a something which is not at all like the old glass. The colours are all higher key, and there

is a freedom in the drawing which would not be found in any ancient example.

Then, as matter of taste, what some people might consider "deep and rich colouring" (and if these do not exhibit this, what else would you have?) I consider heavy rather than deep, and *violent* rather than rich; and the execution generally I should say was heavy rather than powerful. Still they are the best of the sort that I have yet seen.

Now the most powerful Cinquecento windows, like those at Brussels, are not heavy. They have not the etherial effect that the German windows at Glasgow have; but they are as unlike those of Hughes's, as they are to Van Linge's. But I should be glad to hear your impression, after you have compared them in general effect with the German. —— is diligently working at the effect of his windows, and I think successfully. The designs are growing more and more like those in St. Gudule's, both in power and vivacity. There is nothing heavy about these, chiefly on account of the light backgrounds and the white in the architecture.

Yours most truly,

C. Winston.

XXXI.

My dear Wilson, Rhyl, Flintshire, 26th Oct. 1863

My paper on the Gloucester window is printed; I expect a copy in a few days, which I will forward to you, begging your acceptance of it.

The paper will really appear in the two next numbers of the 'Archæological Journal.' But, if it anyway tends to strengthen your hands, you can use it as you like. The subject is treated entirely from the archæological point of view. In that view it is of importance, fixing the date of that window, for it is like an anchor in the sea of speculation.

Since then I have been engaged in an attempt to fix the date of the glass in Nettlestead Church, in Kent, a church famous rather for the remains of the heraldry in the windows, than for figures or works of art. Still this example will come well in with that of Gloucester. As the paper will be shorter than the Gloucester one, I shall endeavour to make it the peg to hang some practical remarks on; and if I find the length will allow of this being done, I will send you the MS. before it is printed; for I do not feel steady except in a matter purely archæological.

This glass at Nettlestead is of two dates; the earlier being of the commencement of the reign of Henry VI., and the later of the

end of that reign. I hope, before I have done, to come to a date more trustworthy than that afforded by analogy, which at present is all that I can rely on. But it is curious to observe the wonderful difference between the glass material used in the Gloucester and the Nettlestead windows, and the difference between the drawing, shading, and general design of the two glass-paintings. The execution generally is more tender and refined in the Nettlestead than in the Gloucester window, and the material used is more carefully made, and more even in tint, than that at Gloucester.

This concurrent variation of the material and mode of execution I have several times called attention to in the papers I have written; and you have made me see its importance more than I had ever before seen it, by your remarks on the new manufacture in relation to the Munich execution.

[The remainder of this letter is wanting. The intended memoir on the Nettlestead glass was not written.]

XXXII.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 7th Dec. 1863.

Your note about the clearstory has only just (1·30 P.M.) come to hand, as you had inadvertently directed to No. 4, instead of No. 3, Harcourt Buildings.

I am altogether of the same opinion as yourself with regard to the necessity of the enlargement of the figures in the clearstory. This rule obtains, with the best effect, in the clearstories at Bourges and Canterbury, and in the later clearstory at Exeter. As a rule also, the clearstory figures should be slenderer in proportion than those in the lower windows; and you would do well to divide the panel beneath the figure into three parts, for the oval form which you have given will be still further elongated by perspective.

Diapers in glass draperies should, I think, be used whenever they can be used. The mistake the moderns make is the following an abominable mediæval practice of sticking pieces of other colours into a drapery, for instance, of blue or red. This distracts the eye, whereas diaper gives a sparkling richness without detracting at all from the breadth of the colouring; and the bigger the figures the greater necessity is there for diapers.

I also quite agree with you on the propriety of making these figures and their accessories as little pictorial and as ornamental as possible; and in doing them, as you and Ainmüller will agree to do them, you will read a good lesson to the advocates of the "ironed-out flat style." It will be quite worth while going again to Scot-

land, if you succeed, as I have no doubt you will, in making a series of ornamental figures and accessories after an artistic fashion. It was this that —— wished to see in the lower windows; but I am quite sure that he had not clear ideas on the subject well elaborated and brought out.

In the clearstory at Augsburg Cathedral, the figures are richly coloured on a white ground, diapered; but, then, this ground has that solid appearance which the glass of the twelfth century (of which this is) always has, owing to the presence of alumina in the glass. But you might diaper your white, after a solemn fashion, into a deep diaper, as at Exeter, at Canterbury, and Bourges, as you know the whole thing is richly coloured, with the exception of the canopies, which are wholly white and yellow. Ainmüller's general colouring is to my mind so good, and he is so alive to the value of white as a foil to the coloured glass, that, I fancy, you may with safety let him go his own gait.

The more I think of it, the more I am sure that glass-painting is in its infancy, even when we go to the best professors extant.

Yours most truly,

C. Winston.

XXXIII.

My dear Wilson, Temple, 15th Jan. 1864.

It will do me a great deal of good to read what you write, so pray send it.

In consequence of some very true remarks which you made after I had written that paper on the Glasgow windows, which appeared in the 'Illustrated News,' I have reconsidered the matter a good deal, and the result of my cogitations I have committed to paper, with the intent, after first submitting them to you, to append them to the account I am engaged to write on the Nettlestead glass for the Kent Archæological Society. And the conclusion that (as at present advised) I have come to is, that the whole of our misfortunes in respect of modern glass-painting arise from a want of appreciating the fact that, in these days, any sort of *art* to be successful must be *European*. It will not do for us to disregard the comity of nations which (as the Emperor Napoleon remarks) makes Europe but one country, and set up for ourselves a standard of art reprobated by foreigners. This is the chief objection to our mediæval mania. In defiance of modern improvements in building,—or rather in opposition to them, as too suggestive of the enlightenment of the age,—we build churches on the mediæval model, yielding however, in this, to nineteenth-

century influence by the addition of small details and refinements, which have rendered the style essentially "Jemmy-Gothic."

The young architects may find this style, which has no rules, a very convenient one as a cover to ignorance of proportion and arrangement, and as saving a great deal of consideration and thought. The result is shown in such a combination of crude extravagance as we see in a new building in the Strand, which must bring down upon us the contempt of every foreigner. . . . . .

In designing windows for mediæval churches there are but two courses which experience shows are available—either to adopt modern art (and this is the wise course when *figures* are required), or else to adopt mediæval art; and I am persuaded that this is only good advice when the donors of the windows will be content with pattern-work.

There is no third course, as I once supposed and advocated in the article in the 'Illustrated News,' of getting a modification of mediævalism by good artists. *You* entirely convinced me of my error. The Glasgow windows, and also the Alnwick window (by Dyce), are sufficient proofs that I was wrong and you were right.

Therefore, O Wilson, our course must be to inculcate upon the donors of windows,—that, 1st. Windows ought not to be caricatures and offensive objects.

2nd. That when figures or groups are employed, this can be avoided only by employing good artists, and that it will necessitate the employment of a style which is not mediæval.

3rd. That when figures or groups are not insisted on, the windows may be made as much in "harmony" with the style of the building as is compatible with our altered manufacture of glass; and that there are quantities of patterns that are excellent, and only require an intelligent copyist to make them most agreeable; and that, if the ancient patterns are really and deeply studied, it will be found that an inexhaustible store of new patterns may be devised, entirely agreeing with them in spirit and character, and yet requiring no greater skill than any successful student at a School of Design might reasonably be expected to possess; though he would be the last person to whom any reasonable being would intrust the designing of a picture.

These are the last new lights that I have acquired in this most interesting subject, and I shall (if you approve of them) "*stick*" to them, as you say I have done (in your last most kind and welcome letter, just come to hand, for which many thanks), through good report or evil report.

In my *now* opinion, I think that the Glasgow windows would have been more successful if Ainmüller had been told to make all the canopy-work like the German Gothic of the sixteenth century,—

such as we see in Peter Fischer's shrine at Nuremberg, and in the "stick and leaf" canopy-work in the cathedral at Munich.

This ornamentation, being broad, and its style little pronounced, would have been in entire harmony with the figures. It is true that our Gothicists would have complained, but to all other men their objections would have in the end appeared untenable.

Most truly yours,

C. Winston.

MEMOIRS ON GLASS-PAINTING.

I.

A SHORT NOTICE OF THE PAINTED GLASS IN WINCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

(Read for the writer by the Rev. J. L. PETIT, on the 13th of September, 1845, at the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Winchester; and then accompanied with fifteen drawings of Painted Glass.)

Figures of the Carpenter, the Mason, and the Clerk of the Works, from the East Window of the College Chapel.

IT is perhaps hardly necessary to observe that an *original* glass-painting, whatever may be its age, possesses features characteristic of the period at which it was executed; and this, whether the work formed a complete design of itself, or was merely a repair, or an addition. But inasmuch as it would be impossible, without the aid of numerous *finished* drawings, and without vastly exceeding the limits of such a paper as this, to point out, except

in very vague and general terms, the marks by which the date of a glass-painting may be ascertained with tolerable exactness, I shall not enter into the subject at present, but confine myself to a short notice of the glass in the Cathedral, College, St. John's Church, St. Cross, &c. I ought, however, to state that the peculiarities in the design and execution of glass-paintings are as capable of convenient classification as are architectural peculiarities; and that I shall refer to the three great mediæval styles of glass-painting by the terms *Early English*, *Decorated*, and *Perpendicular*, each style being nearly contemporaneous with the synonymous style of architecture, as defined by Rickman, to whose phraseology I think it advisable to adhere as much as possible. The term *Cinquecento* I shall apply to any glass, prior to the year 1550, which exhibits in its details the peculiar style of ornament known by this name.

The earliest specimens of Early English glass that I have met with in this neighbourhood are two fragments, probably of a border, worked in with other glass, in the west window of the nave of St. Cross; and two other fragments, likewise of a border, over the door leading into the refectory. All this glass is precisely of the same character, and I think early in the thirteenth century. It doubtless came out of one of the Norman windows of the church, and is all that I have been able to discover of the original glazing.

A few small fragments of *later* Early English are at present contained in two boxes in the cloisters of Winchester College, which are filled with scraps, principally of glass of Wykeham's time, brought from New College Chapel, Oxford. A few similar fragments may be seen amongst other glass at St. Cross. This glass is of the last half of the thirteenth century, and is similar to that in Salisbury Cathedral.

Two *circles* of *early* Decorated glass are over the door of the refectory of St. Cross, and two or three more in the west window of Winchester Cathedral. They are composed of mere plain pieces of coloured glass disposed in a geometrical pattern, and prove how much of the effect of *early* glass is owing to the *texture of the material*. There are fragments of early Decorated borders scattered about the windows of St. Cross. There is also a piece of early Decorated ornament in one of the before-mentioned boxes; and in the east window of the north aisle of Romsey church, Hants, is an early Decorated panel, containing a representation of Christ bearing the Cross. All this is, I think, of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

There are also specimens of later Decorated glass at St. Cross; in the boxes in the college, and in a tracery light of the north window of De Lacy's work in the cathedral.

This neighbourhood is much richer in the early Perpendicular than in any other glass.

The earliest specimen consists of the heads of two canopies in the east window of the chancel of St. John's Church, Winchester, in which it is hard to say whether the Decorated or the Perpendicular features predominate.

The next in date is afforded by the remains of the original glass in the west window of Winchester Cathedral, the west windows of the aisles, and the first window in the south aisle, counting from the west. No painted glass remains in the first and second windows from the west in the north aisle. This glass chiefly consists of the heads of canopies; in the west window, however, two or three of the original figures remain. It is undoubtedly the earliest Perpendicular glass in the cathedral, and may be the work of Wykeham's predecessor, Bishop Edington.

In Wykeham's will, dated rather more than a year before his death,[1] he bequeaths a sum of money for the glazing of the windows of the cathedral, beginning from the west end, *at the first window of the new work done by him;* from which it would appear that some windows at the western end of the edifice had been already glazed. The character of the glass in the above-mentioned windows, which I presume were glazed by Bishop Edington, is, however, nearly identical with that in the east windows of the ante-chapel of New College, Oxford, and with most of that in the before-mentioned boxes, which I am informed was taken from the west window of New College Chapel, Oxford, at the time the window designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds was put up.

The next in date in Winchester Cathedral is the glass in the other windows of the aisles of the nave, and in the clear-story windows of the nave. This is a little later than the glass in the west window, and is of precisely the same character as the original glass now remaining in the north, south, and west windows of the ante-chapel of New College Chapel, Oxford. According to Wykeham's will, these windows of the cathedral were to be glazed in the following order. Those of the south aisle and clearstory first, beginning from the west; then those

[1] Wykeham died Sept 24, 1404.

of the north aisle and clearstory, also beginning from the west, provided the money would go so far.[1] Much more glass remains on the north than on the south side of the cathedral; but from the existing fragments I cannot discover any perceptible difference between the glass on either side, whether in the drawing or in the texture of the material.

Four figures, and parts of their canopies, belonging to this glass, appear to have been removed into the first window from the east of the clearstory of the choir. The head of the westernmost figure, a female, is as fine as anything that I have yet seen in glass of this or any other period.

In the west window of the nave of St. Cross are many quarries of this date, and the original part of the figures in the lower part of the window is coeval with the quarries. The *cross* in this window, which is embedded in the quarries, is *modern*, and is made of *sheet-copper*.

The College Chapel *was*, it seems, originally glazed with glass of the same date as that I have just been speaking of.

All the present glass in its side windows is, however, *modern*, as well as all that in its east window, with the trifling exception of some little bits in the tracery lights of the east window, consisting of two small figures, the head of an angel, and four other small fragments.

The original designs have been preserved in the modern glass with considerable fidelity; indeed, considering the time when it was executed, about twenty years ago, it must be admitted to be a *very good copy* of the old. The art of making coloured glass was not so well understood then as now: in particular the manufacture of Ruby glass, like that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was revived by the French only a few years ago, and consequently long after these windows were painted. The artist, therefore, worked under peculiar disadvantages; nevertheless, had the old glass of the chapel been copied this very year, however exactly, and with whatever care in the selection of the colours, the chapel windows would have been only *one degree* better in appearance than they now are. They would merely have exhibited the colouring of the sixteenth century, instead of, as they now do, that of the nineteenth, united with the drawing of the early part of the fifteenth century. For the *texture* of all modern manufactured glass, uncoloured as well as coloured, is identical only with that of the sixteenth century.

[1] Lowth's 'Life of Wykeham,' p. 387.

and is totally different from the texture of earlier glass. I cannot too pointedly call attention to this fact, nor too earnestly express my decided opinion that, with the *present materials*, the only glass which we can successfully imitate, and consequently the only styles in which modern glass should under these circumstances be painted, are those of the sixteenth century. In all old glass the *nature of the material* varies as completely as the character of the drawing and execution: indeed, the *texture* of the glass affords of itself a criterion of its date. This principle of adapting the execution to the material pervades all ancient, and indeed all other manufactured work of *original design;* and it is in vain to imitate the drawing without also imitating the material in which the work is to be executed. Hence it is that modern encaustic tiles, whatever may be the date of the pattern impressed upon them, always *appear* to be of *the same date*, viz. that of the manufacture of the tile: and hence it also is, that the best modern Early English and Decorated windows must always fail to please a *practised* eye, not only on account of their violation of the rules of style, but, what is a far greater objection in a work of art, on account of the total want of harmony between the *material* and *the mode in which it is worked.*

To return, however, from this digression. The windows in the chapel are still of great value, as giving the arrangement, and to a considerable extent the drawing, of the original work.

The next glass in order of date is in the heads of the three westernmost windows, on the north side of the clearstory of the choir in Winchester Cathedral: it consists of canopy-work and cherubim. The four figures in the upper tier of lower lights in the easternmost of these three windows are of the same time, and appear to be in their original position. The eight figures and canopies in the upper tier of the two easternmost windows on the south side of this clearstory are likewise of the same date; but these are all too short by six or ten inches for the spaces they occupy, which would cause a suspicion of their having been removed from some other windows. All this glass is, I think, of the close of Henry VI.'s reign.

There are fragments of glass of the same date as that last noticed, scattered about the windows of St. John's Church, Winchester.

The glass remaining in the east window of the north transept of St. Cross is a little later. A better specimen of the border

which ornaments the glass in this window may be seen in the east window of the chancel of St. Peter's Church, Cheesehill, Winchester.

The glass of the east window of the College Library is of the time of Edward IV., or early part of the reign of Henry VII., and was removed some years ago to its present position from the small chapel on the south side of the College Chapel, in which the font now is. The glass is too narrow for the spaces it occupies.

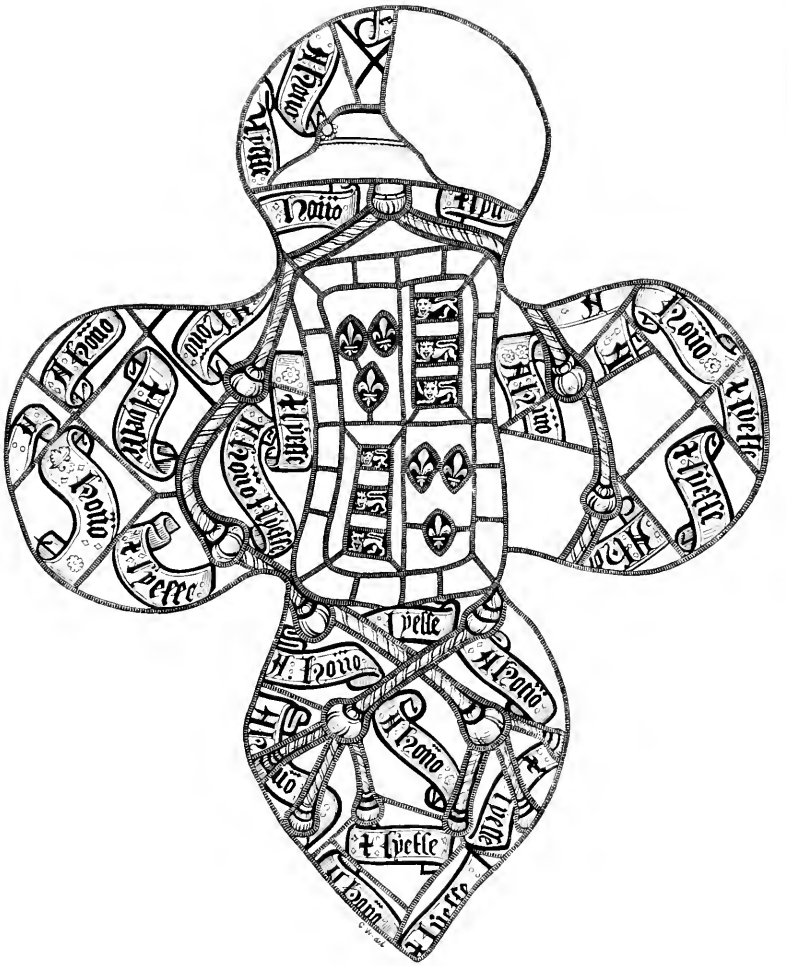
The arms in the windows of the Refectory at St. Cross, consisting of those of Cardinal Beaufort, and a shield bearing the livery colours of his family, are of the latter half of the fifteenth century. The cardinal's arms are surmounted with his hat, and surrounded with its pendent strings. The whole is on a quarry ground, on which is repeated a motto, which I presume to be the cardinal's. The words are "A Hono & Lyesse," written on small scrolls.[1]

The glass in the east window of the Choir of Winchester Cathedral is perhaps a little earlier than 1525, and is the work of Bishop Fox, whose arms, and motto, "Est deo gracia," are introduced into it.

This window must, when perfect, have been a truly magnificent one: it would be unfair to judge of it in its present state. The only part of the glass now in its original position consists (as I think) of the two figures which occupy the two southernmost of the lower lights, and of that in all the tracery lights, except the top central one and the three immediately below it. The top central light is filled principally with some glass of Wykeham's time, and all the rest of the window with glass of Fox's time, removed from other windows.

This window, when compared with the surrounding ones, exhibits most strikingly the characteristic features of the time. It is superior to the other glass-paintings in the fulness and arrangement of its colours, but it is less brilliant, owing to the greater depth of the shading, to which the increased roundness of the figures is owing. In point of *execution*, I apprehend that it is as nearly perfect as painted glass can be. In it the shadows have attained their *proper limit*. Deeper shadows would have produced blackness and opacity, and lighter shadows a greater degree of flatness than is necessarily inherent in a *real* glass-painting. This is the style which in my opinion ought to be

[1] A representation of these arms is given in the plate opposite.



ARMS OF CARDINAL BEAUFORT,

From the Refectory St Cross

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adopted at the present day, using the *Cinquecento* ornaments when the glass is destined for a Roman or Palladian building, and Gothic details when the glass is, as here, designed for a Gothic edifice. It was at this period that glass-painting attained its highest perfection as an *art*. This circumstance alone would be a sufficient reason, one would think, for adopting the style of the first half of the sixteenth century in modern works, in preference to the earlier and less perfect styles; but I have already pointed out a fatal objection to the adoption of earlier styles—*the impossibility of obtaining glass of the requisite texture in which to execute works designed in any of the earlier styles.*

Bishop Fox's glass seems originally to have extended into some of the side windows of the clearstory of the choir, the heads of some of his canopies still retaining their original positions in these windows. The easternmost window on the north side of this clearstory was evidently at one time filled with his glass. The tracery lights still remain, and it is curious to observe how their design and arrangement of colour are accommodated to the design and arrangement of colour of the earlier glass in the other windows of this clearstory, and which I have before said I believe to be of the latter part of the reign of Henry VI.

The aisle windows, both on the north and south sides of the choir, also contain remains of Bishop Fox's glass. When perfect, the glass in this part of the cathedral might have stood a comparison with the finest continental examples.

There is also some late glass, but much mutilated, in the east window of the Lady-chapel of the cathedral; and in one of the east windows of the south transept are a few fragments of *Cinquecento* glass.

In the Library at the Deanery are some excellent specimens of heraldic glass, of the time of James I. and Charles I., in which, however, the decline of the art of glass-painting is very apparent.

There are other detached portions of glass scattered about Winchester, but I have described I believe the greater part, in order to enable others to make out a series of glass of different dates, to examine it, and judge for themselves, assuring them that a careful investigation of existing specimens will alone enable them to acquire a critical knowledge of painted glass. And as every little fragment of painted glass has its value in the eyes of the student, however insignificant it may be in itself,

I will again urge those who have painted glass in their possession *carefully to preserve it.* Time is perpetually destroying the evidences of art, and his chief assistants are the negligence and indifference of those who chance to possess specimens, valuable only for the purpose of comparison with more perfect works.

I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester for their kindness in permitting me free access to every part of the Cathedral; and also to the Warden of Winchester College, for allowing me to examine the glass in the boxes in the cloister, and to copy such parts of it as I thought proper.

Figure of the Glass-painter from the East Window of the College Chapel.

II.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE CATHEDRAL AND CHURCHES OF YORK.

(From the volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at York, July, 1846.)

OT many cities can boast of more extensive and important remains of painted glass than York. The examples extend over a period of nearly four centuries, but it is the almost unbroken series of glass-paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which renders this collection so interesting to the student.

The greater portion of these specimens is in the Minster, and their value as evidences of the state of the art at different periods has been enhanced by Mr. Browne's laborious investigation of a vast mass of original documents relating to the building and adorning of the cathedral, which has enabled him to assign dates to most of the windows with considerable precision.

It is not my intention to enter into any detailed statement concerning these windows, but simply to point out, as nearly as I can, the *order* in which they should be examined; leaving it to the student to ascertain the difference of style observable in these works, and referring him for particular dates to Browne's 'History of York Cathedral.' Mr. Browne's excellent notes on the painted glass in the Parish Churches, which are in the hands of the members of the Institute, render it unnecessary for me to offer many observations on this subject.

The earliest painted glass in this city, and indeed one of the earliest specimens that I am acquainted with in England, is a portion of a *Jesse* in the second window from the west, on the north side of the clearstory of the nave, of the cathedral. It forms the upper subject in the westernmost lower light of this window. The date of the glass is about 1200; it is therefore much older than the greater part of the Early English glass at

Canterbury Cathedral, to which I do not think a date can be assigned much earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. A coloured engraving of this very curious example is given in Browne's 'History of York Cathedral,' plate 123. Much Early English glass, varying in date from the beginning to the middle of the thirteenth century, has been employed to fill the wheel of tracery in the head of the last-mentioned window, as well as the wheels in the tracery of the five next clearstory windows. The upper tier of subjects in the lower lights of the fifth and seventh windows, counting from the west, on the north side of this clearstory, are also Early English. An Early English subject is inserted in one of the lower lights of the sixth clearstory window, counting from the west. The wheels in the tracery of all but three of the clearstory windows, on the south side of the nave, are likewise filled with Early English glass; and Early English glass-paintings are also to be found amongst the subjects in their lower lights. Coloured engravings of some of this glass are given in Browne's 'History of York Cathedral;' one plate—of great value to the antiquary—represents a series of borders, from the commencement to the middle of the thirteenth century.

The next glass in order of date is that in the Five Sisters: which beautiful pattern-windows are of the latter half of the thirteenth century. It is hardly necessary to observe that the glazing of the five lancets above the Sisters is modern. A portion of the pattern of each of the Five Sisters has been carefully engraved in Browne's 'York,' plates 61, 63, 65, 67, and 69. Some glass of the same character and date as that in the Five Sisters has been inserted in the tracery of the second window, from the door, in the vestibule or passage leading into the chapter-house. The remains of a very nice Early English window of the latter half of the thirteenth century are inserted in two Decorated windows on the north side of St. Dennis or Dionis Church, Walmgate, in this city.

The next glass in order of date is that in the chapter-house and vestibule leading into it. This is of the time of Edward II., and commencement of the reign of Edward III., and is an extremely beautiful specimen of early Decorated work. Accurate engravings of the patterns of some of these windows are given in Browne's 'York.' plates 79, 83, 85, 88, and 92; and a coloured print of one of the subjects, the Annunciation, has lately been published in this city. One window in the chapter-house, that opposite the entrance. is a restoration by Messrs. Barnett and

Sons, of York: it has been carefully executed, and if it does not produce so satisfactory an effect as the original windows, this arises not from the fault of the artist, but from the impossibility of procuring, at the present day, a material similar in texture to the glass of the fourteenth century.

The next glass in order of date is that in the nave of the cathedral, its clearstory, and aisles. This glass is all of the time of Edward III. The contract for glazing the great west window is dated 1330, and none of the glass probably is later than 1350. The general arrangement and execution of the designs throughout this part of the building are well worthy of notice, as evincing the attention paid by our ancestors to general effects in these matters. The west windows of the nave and aisles, of which distant views may be obtained, have their lower lights filled with large figures and canopies; while the windows of the aisles, with but one exception, are adorned with paintings of a more complicated character, and on a smaller scale, and which are therefore better calculated for a near inspection. Much of the plain geometrical glazing in the clearstory windows is original, and, like that in a similar position in Cologne Cathedral, affords a proof that the ancient glass-painters did not consider themselves *bound* to finish *patterns* destined to occupy a distant position as highly as those placed nearer the eye. Some Decorated glass of the same character and date as that in the nave has been placed in the first window from the west of the south aisle of the choir. The second and third clearstory windows from the east, on the south side of the choir, contain similar glass, which, as I conjecture, has been removed thither from one or other of the two blank side windows of the north and south aisles of the nave. Many of the churches in the town possess good Decorated glass in their windows; I may mention in particular the east window of the north aisle of All Saints', North-street, and the westernmost window of the north aisle of St. Martin's-cum-Gregory: there are also the remains of a Decorated Jesse, like that in one of the windows of the south aisle of the nave of the Cathedral, in St. Dennis or Dionis Church; and some very perfect Decorated designs in the first and second windows from the east on the north side of that building.

The earliest Perpendicular glass in the Cathedral is contained in the third window from the east in the south aisle of the choir, in the third and fourth windows from the east in the north clearstory of the choir, and in the fourth clearstory

window from the east on the opposite side of the choir. These windows are of the close of the fourteenth century. There is also an early Perpendicular Jesse in the third window from the west in the south aisle of the choir. The date of the east window of the choir is well known; a contract for glazing it in three years was made in 1404. This window is one of the best executed that I have ever seen; the beauty of the figures, however, cannot be fully appreciated without inspecting them closely from the gallery near the window. The other windows of the choir aisles, eastward of the small eastern transepts, as well as the glass in the lancet windows on the east side of the great western transepts, appear to be likewise of the time of Henry IV. Some of these windows may probably be a few years earlier than the east window. All the rest of the glass in the choir is of the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.; the greater portion belonging to the latter reign. The chief peculiarity that I have observed in these windows is, that the white glass, which enters so largely into their composition, is, generally speaking, less green in tint than is usual, especially in the western and southern parts of England. Mr. Browne has informed me that it clearly appears, from the fabric rolls, that this white glass is of *English* manufacture, which circumstance may perhaps serve to account for its whiteness. There is some very good glass of the time of Henry VI. in the east and other windows of All Saints' Church, North-street; the east window unfortunately has not been improved by the modern restorations, which appear to have been made in ignorance of the fundamental principles of the Perpendicular style of glass-painting. St. Martin's Church, Coney-street, contains much painted glass of the time of Henry VI., of good character, and valuable as affording an example of a general arrangement of designs throughout an entire building.

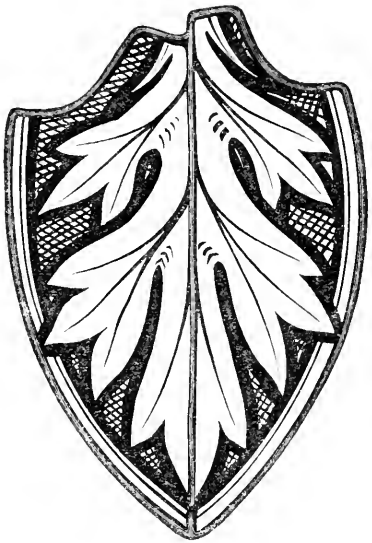
Some glass of the reign of Henry VII. has been inserted in the four upper south windows of the great west transept of the Cathedral: the heads of some, if not all of the figures, are restorations.

A very beautiful glass-painting, of the last half of the sixteenth century, has been inserted in the window next the east, of the south aisle of the choir. It was presented to the Cathedral by Lord Carlisle in 1804, and was brought from a church at Rouen. The design is evidently taken from a painting, I believe by Baroccio (who died in 1612, aged 84), but the colouring and execution have been varied to suit the nature of the material

employed. I infer from the column-like arrangement of the groups, as well as the actual division-lines of the glass, that this work was originally painted for a four-light window. This is neither the place nor the occasion for any discussion touching the relative merits of this and the earlier glass-paintings in the Cathedral; but I may be permitted to observe that this work affords a proof that it is not impossible to unite the drawing and colouring of an advanced period of art to the true *practice* of glass-painting. In the windows by Peckitt at the south end of the great west transept, the principles of painting upon glass and painting upon canvas are confounded together; in attempting to imitate the depth of an oil-painting by shadows alone, he has simply produced opacity, than which no greater fault can be committed in glass-painting.

I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing a hope that before this meeting separates some measures will be taken far cataloguing all the painted glass in the Cathedral and Parish Churches of York. A really correct and properly detailed catalogue of the glass in the Cathedral alone would be a most valuable addition to our archæological publications. Many of those windows are perfect histories in themselves; and contain information which can hardly be collected elsewhere. Yet how little is known of them! The French antiquaries have already made correct catalogues of the glass in many of their principal buildings; and why should not their example be imitated in England? we may be sure that the longer it is delayed the more difficult will become the task; Time never sleeps, and in spite of all our precautions is perpetually destroying the evidences of history committed to so frail a material as glass. One of the principal obstacles to obtaining a correct catalogue of painted glass, the difficulty of procuring a person competent to the task, does not exist in the present case. I could have wished that Mr. Browne had in his own work given, what he is perfectly capable of making, a full and complete catalogue of the glass in the Cathedral; but a very cursory examination of the windows has convinced me that he has exercised a sound discretion in declining such an undertaking on his own account. I repeat again that a *good* catalogue of the York glass would be an achievement worthy of the Institute, that it would stamp its proceedings with a character of *usefulness*, and perhaps induce other antiquarian societies to commence similar undertakings. The releading of painted windows in a careful manner, and

insuring the retention of even every little fragment of original glass in its original position during the operation, is a work which cannot be too strongly advocated; but at the same time can never supersede the necessity of making full and accurate catalogues, which may remain after the glass itself has perished.



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

INSERTED IN THE NORTH ROSE WINDOW

Charles Winston, del. Philip Delamotte, lith. Vincent Brooks

III.

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE PAINTED GLASS IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL AND SOUTHWELL MINSTER:

WITH SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON GLASS-PAINTING.

(From the volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at the Annual Meeting at Lincoln, 1848.)

PROPOSE in this paper to give some account of the remains of ancient painted glass existing in Lincoln Cathedral and Southwell Minster. But as I have reason to believe that the subject of Glass-painting is far from being generally understood, and that it has not received that degree of attention which it deserves, whether considered as occupying a prominent place among the arts of the Middle Ages, or as an art which the taste of the present day has caused to be extensively revived, I shall venture to take a wider range than is absolutely necessary, and, instead of confining myself to a description of these remains, combine with it such an account of the process of glass-painting, and of its past history and variations, as, by affording some knowledge of the practical details of the art, may remove an obstacle which, meeting the antiquary or amateur at his first entrance on the study of glass-painting, often deters him from pursuing the subject, or giving due attention to it. In conclusion, I shall offer a few remarks on the present practice of the art, and suggestions for removing some of the difficulties which beset its advancement.

The art of Painting on Glass, which it may be proper to state is very different from the art of making coloured glass—an art of remote antiquity—was probably suggested by the very ancient practice of painting on earthenware with enamel, and the use of coloured glass in mosaics: but from the silence of classical

authors on the subject, the absence of antique specimens, and the character of ancient buildings, as well domestic as public, it seems to have been invented subsequently to the coming of our Lord. Yet, although it cannot be carried back beyond the Christian era, the art is undoubtedly of considerable antiquity, as the Treatise on the subject, which is found in the second book of the 'Diversarum Artium Schedula' of Theophilus, is of itself sufficient to prove. This treatise, which is as early as the tenth century, describes so perfect and complete a process of glass-painting, as to justify the conclusion that the art itself must have been invented at a much earlier period.[1] So perfect, indeed, is the method given in the treatise (which has been rendered accessible to the general reader by the recent publication of a French and two English translations),[2] that it continued to be followed, without any material change, until almost the middle of the sixteenth century. But to however remote a period the invention of the art may be referred, the most ancient specimens of it which at present exist are not so early as even the tenth century. The oldest existing painted glass to which a date can, with certainty, be assigned, has been considered by M. de Lasteyrie, and other eminent French antiquaries, to be the remains of the glass at St. Denys, which was painted in the middle of the twelfth century by order of Abbot Suger, who has left an interesting account of it. But it is not impossible that painted glass much earlier than this may be discovered; indeed M. Gérente, an ingenious imitator of ancient painted glass, lately exhibited to me tracings made from some painted glass at Mans Cathedral, in France, which glass seemed to be as early as the latter part of the eleventh century. Theophilus, in the treatise before mentioned, particularly extols the skill of the French glass-painters, and France is at this day the grand storehouse of painted glass of the earliest style. The little we possess in England is, however, not inferior in quality to the French glass. Some of the oldest glass in this country is part of a Jesse window in Canterbury Cathedral; and part of another Jesse in York Minster, which has been inserted into the tracery lights of the Decorated clearstory windows of the

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[1] The art of glass-*making* is also described in this treatise. The glass was formed into a cylinder, and opened or spread out into a sheet. Sheets so made have straight selvages. It is not improbable that the glass found in the ruins of Roman villas, and which has a straight selvage, was made in this manner.

[2] Those by Count De l'Escalopier, by Mr. Hendrie, and in the appendix to the 'Hints on Glass-painting.'

nave.[1] All this glass is of the last half of the twelfth century; so that the glass at York is older than any part of the existing edifice, with the exception of the crypt under the choir. And this is by no means a solitary instance of the original glass having been preserved when an old structure was pulled down and rebuilt in the Middle Ages.

Having thus alluded to the probable antiquity of the art, and noticed a few of the most ancient specimens, I think it will be convenient briefly to describe what may be called Theophilus's System of Glass-painting and the alterations that were afterwards engrafted upon it; since by so doing I shall give a general notion of the process of glass-painting, and show the chief sources of the varieties of style that are afterwards specified.

As I shall have occasion to mention several different kinds of glass used in glass-painting, for the sake of perspicuity and brevity I will state that by White glass I mean glass which in the course of its manufacture has not intentionally been coloured; that by Coloured glass I mean glass to which some colour has purposely been given in its manufacture; that by Pot-metal glass I mean a particular kind of coloured glass, viz. glass coloured throughout its entire substance; and that by Coated glass (which is sometimes, though inaccurately, called Flashed glass) I mean another kind of coloured glass, viz. glass coloured on one side only of the sheet. The glass-painter, it should be added, does not *make* the glass he paints; though, at an early period, it would seem that he did so.

The glass-painter, having made his design, which in the earliest period was drawn with lead, tin, or chalk on a board or table prepared for the purpose, transferred it to the glass in the following manner. He cut from the sheet pieces of white and coloured glass, corresponding in size and shape to those parts of the design which he intended to be white and coloured respectively, and fitted them accurately together, so as to form a piece of coarse mosaic work; each colour of the design being represented by a separate piece of glass. He then proceeded to paint the outlines and shadows of the design upon these pieces of glass, using for the purpose an Enamel colour, similar to that now known amongst glass-painters by the name of "Enamel Brown;" and which, like any other enamel colour, is composed of two ingredients,—Flux, that is, soft glass which melts readily

[1] See Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at York; paper on the Painted Glass, p. 71 *ante*.

in the fire, and some kind of Colouring matter indestructible by heat. The next step was to subject the glass to the action of Red heat, in a kiln or furnace, in order to make the Enamel Brown attach itself to the glass by the melting of the flux; and the process was completed by connecting together the various pieces of painted glass with lead-work, and setting up the glass painting in the window. A more simple method of producing a pictorial effect can hardly be imagined. The picture was coloured by using white and coloured glass; its outlines, shadows, and diaper patterns alone were painted by the artist. In the early part of the fourteenth century the glass-painters discovered a means of Staining white glass yellow, and of imparting a yellow tint to most kinds of coloured glass. The principal ingredient of the Yellow Stain is oxide or chloride of silver; it imparts its tint to the glass—penetrating it a little way—on being exposed to the action of a red heat. A new mode of executing the shadows and diaper grounds with the Enamel Brown was adopted just before the close of the fourteenth century. Previously to this time, a coat of Enamel Brown was *smeared* over those parts only of the glass that were intended to be in shadow, the lights being left clear and untouched; but according to the new method, the Enamel Brown was spread all over the glass, and *stippled*[1] whilst moist to obliterate the marks of the brush and give smoothness to the coat; and the parts intended to represent the lights of the picture were afterwards restored to their original transparency by the removal of the enamel ground from off them. The first and oldest kind of shading may be called Smear shading, and the second Stipple shading; the distinction being important to the antiquary and artist. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century a method was discovered of exhibiting to view patches of white glass in the midst of a coloured surface by the destruction of corresponding portions of the coloured stratum of coated glass, an invention which facilitated the representation, in their proper colours, of heraldic bearings and other minute subjects; but this, being tedious and expensive in practice, was not extensively resorted to. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the introduction of another Enamel colour, rather redder in hue

[1] The stippling process was not a novelty: it was occasionally used, even as early as the reign of Edward II., to soften the effect of the smear shading. Shading, so executed, may be conveniently called "smear shading stippled," to distinguish it both from the ordinary "smear shading" and "stipple shading."

than the Enamel Brown, may be noticed. It was chiefly used to heighten the complexions and to warm the flesh tint. No other innovations, however, on the system of Theophilus, which may with propriety be called the Mosaic System of Glass-painting, were made until the middle of the sixteenth century. The most gorgeous glass-paintings in existence, all which were executed during the first half of the sixteenth century, owe their plenitude of effect simply to the fuller development of the Mosaic system.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, however, or in France and Flanders a few years earlier, it was discovered that all other colours besides yellow, brown, and light red, could be given to white glass by means of Enamel colours and the Stain; and thus the artist became in a measure independent of the glass-maker for colouring glass. But the introduction of the Enamel System of Glass-painting, as this may be called, did not immediately lead to the disuse of coloured glass; the enamels being at first employed either to colour those parts of the design which, from the difficulty of leading in pieces of coloured glass, must otherwise have remained uncoloured, or improperly coloured; or to heighten the tint of the coloured glass. The joint operation, however, of colouring glass by means of enamels, and the disuse of glass-paintings on an extended scale, led, at last, to the abandonment of the manufacture of coloured glass in France, and to its great deterioration in this kingdom and elsewhere. Le Vieil informs us that in 1768 no coloured glass was made in France.[1] In England the Pot-metals continued to be made, but the manufacture of Coated glass appears to have ceased towards the latter part of the seventeenth century. I have not met with any example of Ruby glass, *i. e.* Coated Red glass, later than that in the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, which was executed by Peckitt in 1762. It is of very inferior quality, but not worse than what was made some sixty years before. The manufacture of Ruby,[2] as well as of other kinds of

[1] 'L'Art de la Peinture sur Verre et de la Vitrerie, par feu Le Vieil,' p. 84.

[2] A careful mic[illegible]scopical examination of several specimens of modern and ancient "ruby glass" has convinced me that the old was manufactured in the same manner as the new.

The red colour is clearly ascertained to be producible by copper in a high state of oxidation. [See Clarke's translation of Otto Fromberg's 'Handbuch der Glasmalerei,' in Weale's Quarterly Papers; and Lardner's 'Porcelain and Glass Manufacture,' p. 276.] The ingredients for making ruby glass are mentioned amongst the receipts for colouring glass given in Neri, 'De Arte Vitrariâ,' in the French work of Blancourt, and also in the 'Mappa Clavicula,' a MS. of the 10th century,

Coated glass, was revived in France about twenty years ago; but its having lain dormant for a period, together with the deteriorated quality of Pot-metal glass, have given rise to a belief that the art of glass-painting, as formerly practised, has been lost. This belief is fast wearing out, but its effect is still felt in the propensity to be satisfiad with a glass-painting, whatever may be its demerits as a work of art, provided it exhibits bright and striking colours.

The very changes which have taken place in the practice of the art thus afford, of themselves, a means of ascertaining the age of any particular glass-painting; but in consequence of the length of time during which each mode was practised, they do not present any precise evidence of date, nor do they furnish the means of a classification sufficiently discriminating in other respects. We are, therefore, obliged to look amongst minute details for the distinguishing characteristics of the successive periods of glass-painting, and to found upon them, in conjunction with the changes above-mentioned, the division of the art into those several styles which, together with a brief notice of some of their peculiarities, I shall presently enumerate.

Theophilus's, or the Mosaic System of Glass-painting, continued to be followed, as already stated, until about the middle of the sixteenth century, and thus comprehends all the mediæval

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printed in the 23rd vol. of the 'Archæologia,' p. 183 et seq. See the chapters cclvii., cclviii, entitled, 'Confectio vitri rubri.' None of these authors, however, describe the mode of forming the glass into sheets. The chapter in the treatise of Theophilus, which, from its heading, 'De Vitro quod vocatur Gallien,' we may suppose bore on the subject, is lost. [See 'Hints on Glass-painting,' p. 311.] There can be no doubt, however, that ruby glass was anciently formed into sheets, as it is now, by blowing a lump of white glass, covered with a coat of ruby, into a hollow sphere, which was afterwards converted into a flat sheet in the usual way. A specimen of ruby glass, of the 13th century, exhibiting the mark of a "punt," or "bull's eye," is described in the 'Hints on Glass-painting,' p. 341. This, in connection with other circumstances, is decisive as to the mode of manufacture. I have met with a similar instance, but not older than the 15th or 16th century, in one of the windows of the tower called "Cook's Folly," near Clifton: and no doubt many others exist. Peckitt's ruby was, I am sure, manufactured exactly as above described; the failure of the red and the green tint imparted to the glass in places are defects not unfrequently exhibited by more ancient specimens, and may easily be accounted for.

A new kind of ruby glass, which, for convenience sake, may be called "enamelled ruby," has lately been manufactured by Mr. Hartley. The colouring matter is spread, with a brush, over the surface of a sheet of yellow or white glass, to which it becomes united, like a transparent enamel, on exposure to a sufficient heat in a kiln. A similar process is described, as applicable to other colours, in 'L'Art de la Peinture sur Verre et de Vitrerie, par feu Le Vieil,' part 2, ch. 3. It is clear that the ancient ruby was not manufactured in this manner.

varieties; and those varieties may be conveniently divided into styles, like the varieties of mediæval architecture, and in like manner may be classed under the head of the Early English style, the Decorated style, &c.

The Early English style includes all glass-paintings executed prior to 1280. Some works of this period I have already mentioned, when speaking of the antiquity of glass-painting. The great Rose or Wheel window of the transept of the cathedral of this city also belongs to it. The description which I shall presently give of this window will afford an opportunity of indicating some of the characteristic features of the style, and it will also serve to illustrate the arrangement which is usual in similar works of this age. I therefore abstain from entering at all into these particulars at present.

The Decorated style prevailed from 1280 to 1380. There are numerous and excellent specimens of this style in England, though hardly any remains belonging to it are found in Lincoln Cathedral. As early examples, I may mention the painted glass in the choir of Merton College Chapel, Oxford; in the Chapter-house at York; in the chancel of Norbury Church, Derbyshire, &c.: and as later examples, the glass in the choir of Bristol Cathedral; in the nave of York Cathedral; in Stanford Church, Northamptonshire; in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral, &c. The earlier examples of this style are distinguished from the Early English principally by the architectural details of the canopy-work (a common accompaniment to Decorated picture glass-paintings), and the flowing tendril scrollages and naturally-formed leaves in the ornamental patterns. The later examples, in addition to these peculiarities, generally exhibit the Yellow Stain, and are also less intense in colour compared with Early English glass-paintings. In all Decorated painted glass, the outline is usually less strong, and the drawing less vigorous, than the Early English.

The Perpendicular style prevailed from 1380 to 1530. In the choir of York Minster is an excellent series of examples, extending from the last quarter of the fourteenth century to about the middle of the fifteenth. There are also some good early remains in the Antechapel of New College, Oxford; and later ones at Malvern Church, Worcestershire; and especially at Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, the painted windows of which edifice are of the early part of the sixteenth century. I may also mention another well-known example, rather earlier than the glass at Fairford,—the windows of the north aisle of

Cologne Cathedral. The grand characteristics which distinguish Perpendicular glass-paintings from Early English and Decorated, are greater breadths of unbroken colour, tints of diminished intensity, and the introduction of a greater proportion of white glass even in the most richly-coloured pictures. The later examples, as at Fairford, are often highly picturesque in treatment and design. The foliaged ornaments, the devices on the quarries, of which the ornamented patterns in this style are formed, are highly conventional and unnatural in form, and the style of execution is very delicate and finished. The Stipple Shading is also an important feature in glass-paintings of this style, and will often enable the student to determine whether a particular example is Perpendicular or Decorated.

The style which succeeded the Perpendicular, after having been for nearly thirty years concurrent with it, I have called the Cinquecento. It prevailed from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the general introduction of Enamel colours, about the middle of that century. The character of the ornamental details—whence the name of the style—is of itself sufficient to distinguish Cinquecento from Perpendicular glass-paintings, in which the Gothic details are followed. In other respects it would not be easy to draw the line between the later examples of the one style and the earlier examples of the other; the same mode of execution being used in each. The finest specimens of Cinquecento glass-paintings are amongst the works of the Flemish school; these possess a power and a richness in comparison with which the French and English examples appear weak and timid. There are some splendid specimens of the style at Lichfield Cathedral, brought from the neighbourhood of Liège in the early part of the present century. The east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, which has all the appearance of being Flemish, is another splendid work; but perhaps no windows so fully impress the spectator with the power of painted glass as those of the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament, on the north side of Brussels Cathedral.

It seems unnecessary to enter into any lengthened remarks on the styles of glass-painting which have prevailed from the Cinquecento period until within the last twenty years; for with the exception of the east window of the choir of Lincoln, there is no example here to which such remarks can apply; and this, being a kaleidoscope of plain pieces of glass, need not be further noticed. Such glass-paintings are in general easily to be distinguished from the Cinquecento by the Enamel

colouring which is used in them; as well as by their dullness and opacity in several instances, and by their washiness and flimsiness in others. The last defect is most apparent in those specimens in which the use of white glass coloured with enamels, instead of coloured glass, has prevailed to the greatest extent. The best English examples of the combined use of Enamel colouring and Coloured glass are the works of the Van Linges, in the first half of the seventeenth century, and those of the Prices in the early part of the eighteenth. It cannot be denied that a very powerful pictorial effect is produced by many of these works; yet even in the most favourable examples we seek in vain for that sparkling brilliancy and translucency which characterise the equally powerful glass-paintings of the Cinquecento period, and indeed constitute the chief beauty of a glass-painting. The poverty of glass-paintings in which the colouring is wholly produced by enamels is well exemplified in the "washy Virtues" at New College Chapel, Oxford, and in the windows of Arundel Castle, Sussex.

The preceding outline, however imperfect, of the progress of glass-painting, and of the styles under which the ancient varieties are classed, will enable us to enter upon an examination of the windows of this Cathedral and of Southwell Minster; and in the course of it I shall occasionally introduce a few remarks which may serve to illustrate what has before been said.

The glass of the Early English style remaining in the cathedral is, I think, of the first half of the thirteenth century. The great Rose or Wheel window in the north transept must be admitted to be one of the most splendid, and, in its present state, one of the most perfect, works of the thirteenth century.[1] It is much to be regretted that no engraving exists of this window; the want of accurate prints of entire windows is, indeed, a serious obstacle to the study of ancient glass.[2] One only

[1] For a description of this window, and of the subjects in it, see the Memoir on the glazing of the North Rose Window of Lincoln Cathedral. The description which was contained in the present memoir, being in some respects imperfect, is omitted.

[2] Such has been the destruction or mutilation of the works of the English school of Glass-painting, that it is difficult to form a series of entire windows, or of considerable portions of windows, sufficiently perfect to satisfy the student. Even in the short list which follows, some imperfect specimens are necessarily included. In the choir of Canterbury Cathedral are many good specimens of Early English Medallion windows, and considerable remains of Figure and Canopy, and Jesse windows. Lincoln Cathedral has the splendid north Rose above mentioned. Salisbury Cathedral contains some excellent Early English white Pattern windows. Later

of the subjects, the Angels supporting the Cross, has been engraved, but not accurately, in Fowler's 'Mosaic Pavements

examples of the same kind are afforded by the Five Sisters at York, and the east window of Chetwode Church, Berks; in the last, the effect of introducing pictures into a white pattern may be seen. The five-light east window of Selling Church, Kent, is a Decorated white pattern, with pictures inserted, of the latter part of the reign of Edward I. The east window of Checkley Church, Staffordshire, bears a considerable resemblance to the last. The side windows of Merton Chapel, Oxford, are white Pattern windows, with pictures inserted, of the latter part of Edward I.'s reign; and the head of the east window is a rich specimen of decorative colouring. The windows of the Chapter-house at York are early in the reign of Edward II. They consist of white patterns with pictures inserted. The side windows of the chancel of Norbury Church, Derbyshire, are of the same date and general design as the last, but contain shields of arms instead of pictures. The head of the east window of Froyle Church, Hants, is an excellent specimen of heraldic decoration, of the latter part of the reign of Edward II. Of the same date are the Figure and Canopy windows in the choir of Tewkesbury Church, and in the clearstory of the choir of Wells Cathedral; as well as the Jesse east window of the same cathedral. This window, though more perfect, is inferior in design to the Jesse east window of Bristol Cathedral, the date of which is about 1330. The west window of York nave is a Figure and Canopy window, early in the reign of Edward III.; and amongst the side windows, which consist chiefly of white patterns with pictures inserted, may be enumerated a Jesse, and some Figure and Canopy windows, all being of the early part of the same reign. St. Denis Church, York, has a Figure and Canopy window late in the reign of Edward III.; of which date is the magnificent east window of Gloucester Cathedral. It consists chiefly of figures and canopies, and partly of white patterns. The east window of Levrington Church, Cambridgeshire, is a very early Perpendicular Jesse. The Antechapel of New College, Oxford, contains several Figure and Canopy windows of the reign of Richard II. There are some equally early examples in the clearstory of York choir. Indeed, the choir of this Cathedral is a perfect mine of Perpendicular glass, varying in date from this time to the reign of Henry VI.; and comprising in its aisles a Jesse window, as well as windows whose design, like the east window, consists of a number of small pictures placed one over the other. St. Martin's Church, York, has a west window full of small pictures, and clearstory windows with figures and arms, on quarry grounds, of the time of Henry VI. The Hall windows of Ockwell's House, Berks, are filled with heraldic achievements of the middle of the fifteenth century, consisting of shields, mantlings, &c., of the boldest and most striking design. Good Pattern windows of the latter part of this century may be seen in the Hall of the Bede House, Lyddington, Rutlandshire; and in the Dean's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, contains a number of Picture windows, of various designs, of the early part of the sixteenth century, which deserve the greatest attention. King's Chapel, Cambridge, is full of early Cinquecento Picture windows. The east window of Bowness Church, Westmoreland, also belongs to this style; as well as the beautiful Jesse at Llanrhaidr Church, Denbighshire, and the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster. The east window of Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, is a favourable specimen of the style which succeeded the Cinquecento. Of the works of the Van Linges there are abundance at Oxford, particularly in the cathedral; and in Lincoln's Inn Chapel. The east window of St. Andrew's, Holborn, which was painted by Price, is deserving of notice. This list might be greatly increased by adding more mutilated, though hardly less valuable, specimens to it.

C. WINSTON. LEIGHTON BROS.

PART OF A JESSE WINDOW.

NORTH AISLE, LLANRHAIDR CHURCH, DENBIGHSHIRE.

and Painted Glass.' No other portion of the Early English glass is in its original position. It is clear that the white patterns which fill the five windows immediately below the north Rose have been removed from other windows; and the same remark applies to the contents of both the lowest north windows of the transept. In the westernmost of these two windows, near the bottom, the figures of five angels, playing on musical instruments, have been inserted. These are late Decorated, of excellent character, and belong in all probability to the west window of the nave. Most of the glass in the southern Rose is Early English, collected from other windows: a collection of various pieces of Early English glass, chiefly pictures, likewise fills the other four south windows of the transept. The lower lights of the east windows of the north and south choir aisles are also filled with a similar collection of Early English glass-paintings; amongst which are some Medallions, representing, according to the opinion of Mr. E. J. Willson, of Lincoln, incidents in the life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. St. Hugh died Bishop of Lincoln in 1200, and was canonised by Pope Honorius III. in 1220. I am informed by Mr. Willson that this glass was removed about sixty years ago from the windows of the aisles of the nave to its present resting-place; and that a chantry in a chapel adjoining the nave, having an altar dedicated to St. Hugh, was founded by Bishop Hugh de Welles, who died in 1235. The glass exhibits internal evidence of being of corresponding date. It is easy to recognise in these remains those striking features which indicate the Early English style of glass-painting; such as the extraordinary intensity and vividness of the colours, the strength and boldness of the outline, the tallness of the figures, their vigorous and spirited attitudes, and classical air of their heads; also the conventional character of the foliaged ornaments, as displayed in the borders and white patterns, and which resemble the ornaments of the contemporary sculpture. The north Rose, which has been already described, also exhibits the general principles of composition common to any Early English window that contains a number of pictures. Each picture, the design of which is always very simple, is placed in a panel having a stiff-coloured ground and well-defined border. The panels are also embedded in a stiff-coloured ground. Very little white glass is used, so that the window consists of a mass of rich and variegated colouring, of which the predominant tints are those of the grounds. The design, owing to the smallness of its parts, is

confused when seen from the floor of the transept. The various panels which have been inserted into the other windows, no doubt, once formed integral parts of Medallion windows. The north Rose shows the general effect of a Medallion window; and some idea of its design is conveyed by the modern imitation window in the south aisle of the cathedral. The original ironwork of a Medallion window still remains in the first window from the west in the south aisle of the nave, and may be regarded as indicating what were the principal divisions of the design of the glass-painting.

There are a few fragments of Decorated glass of the time of Edward II. in the tracery lights of the first window from the east of the south aisle of the choir, and a little more, somewhat earlier, in one or two of the windows of the opposite aisle. The east window of the choir has been deprived of its original glazing. It appears, from a note taken of it a few years previous to the Rebellion, and brought to my notice by the Venerable the Archdeacon, that it contained the arms of many of the English nobility; from which circumstance it may be inferred, that the original glass was early Decorated, or at all events of transitional character; heraldry not being found in the more ancient examples of Early English glass. A portion of a late Early English white pattern is inserted in the east window of the chapter-house at Southwell. It has been engraved in Shaw's 'Ornaments.'

The glass which fills the upper tracery lights of the west window of the nave of Lincoln is late Decorated, a little later, perhaps, than the middle of the fourteenth century. The five angels, already mentioned as being in one of the lower windows of the north transept, are of the same date as this: they most probably formed part of the west window. This window, judging from the forms of the foliaged scroll-work remaining in its tracery lights and round the angels, seems to have been a Jesse window. The Smear Shading in the angels and foliaged ornaments deserves attention. I should here notice a small piece of the foliaged scroll-work belongs to this window, which has been inserted in the Decorated south Rose window, near the bottom of its eastern side; because this glass, when compared with the surrounding Early English glass, betrays, by the lightness of its effect, the great difference in texture that certainly exists between Decorated and Early English glass.[1]

[1] I am thus minute in noticing specimens calculated to show, in a striking manner, the difference in texture between glass of different dates, because,

At Southwell Minster, in the chapter-house, are some few remnants of early Decorated glass of the reign of Edward I. They consist chiefly of portions of tracery lights, and of the spires and crockets of canopies belonging to the lower lights. These crockets are identical in form with those carved in stone round the chapter-house. In one of the tracery lights of the second window from the east, on the south, is a small medallion of white glass, on which is represented a knight on horseback, tilting, with a long spear under his arm. He is habited in a long surcoat which reaches below the knees, and is armed in a hauberk, and chausses of mail. His helmet is surmounted with a crest resembling the wing of a bird. In one of the opposite windows are remains of heraldic borders, consisting of the yellow castles of Castile, and of a white lion rampant on a red field.

The Perpendicular remains of glass in Lincoln Cathedral are but trifling. Three small circles emblematic of the months of March, April, and July, are inserted in the midst of the principal tracery lights of the east windows of the south and north aisles of the choir. A head in this style has also been supplied to the lowest of the five Decorated angels already mentioned as being in one of the north windows of the transept; in this head, as well as in the other Perpendicular work, Stipple Shading is used. An heraldic border, composed of small parallelograms of white glass, each bearing a black chevron between three black crosses botonné, and a black border with yellow pellets, remains in the central lower light of the third window from the east of the north choir aisle. I suspect that these parallelograms were originally separated from each other by small pieces of plain coloured glass. They are, I think, of the middle of the fifteenth century.

At Southwell, the remains of Perpendicular glass are equally scanty, being confined to a few late shields of arms, and other fragments, in the west window of the nave. The four lower east windows of the choir of this building are filled with Cinquecento glass-paintings, of the French school, the gift of the late Mr. Gally Knight, in 1818, and which represent the Baptism of Christ, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, and the Mocking of Christ by the Jews. The first subject, considered as a glass-painting, is rather poor, being weak

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of all differences, this is the least appreciable by casual observers, though all who have studied ancient painted glass will agree that it is one of the most important.

both in colour and shadow. The whole of this picture below the knees of our Saviour is a modern addition, by the late Mr. Miller, who adapted the glass to the present lights. The three other subjects are effective and good, particularly the second, in which, by a skilful management of the background, a striking effect of distance and aërial perspective is produced. The third, as a composition of colour, is perhaps the best. These windows, though less powerful, are more brilliant than Flemish glass-paintings of the same period. As pictures, they go far to establish the claim of glass-painting to be considered one of the fine arts.

If glass-painting could be considered merely as an object of antiquarian curiosity, I should here terminate my remarks on the subject; but as it is a practical art, and as the principal motive for investigating its past condition and history is a desire to advance and improve its present cultivation, I trust that few of those who interest themselves in the study will think that I am abusing the present occasion, if I proceed to offer some observations on the best mode of developing its resources, and carrying it onwards to perfection.

It will not be denied, I think, that the glass-paintings which have been executed for churches within the last twenty years, with few exceptions, leave very great room for improvement. To include all these works under one common condemnation would no doubt be unjust, yet it must be admitted that hardly any, even of those most recently executed, can be considered satisfactory, or worthy the cost that has been expended on them, except perhaps so far as they may have been the means of bringing the Mosaic system of glass-painting[1] again into favour. They are for the most part servile but faulty imitations of older examples; and, like copies in general, magnify the defects of their originals without seizing upon their excellences.

These evils are in great measure attributable to a habit amongst the patrons of glass-painting, of being satisfied with any work that in their opinion possesses a chance of being mistaken for an original example. Hence exactness of imitation is all that is aimed at, and glass-painters are led to value ancient glass-paintings only so far as they supply a means of making copies; instead of endeavouring to penetrate into their principles, and found upon them a new and consistent style of glass-painting—

[1] The superiority of the Mosaic system over all others is attempted to be shown in the 'Hints on Glass-painting,' part ii. section 2.

an object for which the ancient examples are deserving of the closest study.

The ground on which an exact imitation of Gothic glass-paintings is generally and most plausibly maintained is an opinion that they harmonize with Gothic architecture, and that no others are capable of doing so. It is important therefore, as well for those who advocate the system of servile imitation, as for those who would free artists from the fetters which this system imposes, to inquire in what respects, and how far, Gothic glass-paintings do harmonize with Gothic architecture; whether we have the means of obtaining, by mere imitation of them, that degree of harmony which they may be found to possess, and whether the desired harmony is best to be obtained by a more independent process.

When it is said that glass-paintings ought to harmonize with the architecture with which they are united, the meaning is that they should assist and heighten the effect of the architecture, and present no features at variance with it. To produce this result, agreeably to the ordinary rules which govern other kinds of decoration,—for a glass-painting, as well as a fresco-painting, is undoubtedly a species of decoration,—a certain degree of congruity is necessary between the glass-painting and the architecture and sculpture, in their general character and composition. A glass-painting intended for a church should possess a graver character than one intended for a secular building, and the ornaments, figures, and draperies represented in a Picture glass-painting should resemble those in the sculpture in style and general excellence. Moreover, if the interior of the building, or even the particular situation of the window, be dark and obscure, the glass-painting ought to exhibit a predominance of deep hues; if light, a lighter cast of colour in the work might be preferable. If the character of the architecture be cheerful, the tone of the glass-painting should be warm; if sombre and melancholy, the tone of the glass-painting should be cold. Thus, buildings having dark interiors, as Westminster Abbey, or St. Paul's Cathedral, would require more powerfully coloured glass-paintings than the choir of Southwell Minster, or the church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand; but as the character of Gothic architecture is sombre and melancholy compared with that of the Greek and Italian, glass-paintings designed for Westminster Abbey, or Southwell Minster, should be colder in tone than those designed for St. Paul's or St. Clement Danes. In like manner, windows situated in the dome of St. Paul's, or the

transept of Lincoln Cathedral, might require to be more deeply coloured than the windows in the choir of St. Paul's, or in the choir of Lincoln; yet the tone of colouring that would harmonize with any part of Lincoln Cathedral would be colder and more grave than that which would suit any part of St. Paul's.

Tested by these rules, Gothic glass-paintings will be found, in some respects, to harmonize with the Gothic edifices that were contemporaneous with them. They harmonize with the sculpture in the form of their foliaged ornaments, heraldry, &c.; and (except perhaps in the latest examples) with the grave and sombre character of the architecture, in the simplicity and cold tone of their colouring. All glass-paintings earlier than the last quarter of the fifteenth century are more or less cold in colour: and it is a circumstance worthy of remark, though it seems to result from accident rather than design, that, in proportion as Gothic architecture became less gloomy and sombre, Gothic glass-paintings, generally speaking, became not only lighter in hue, but less cold in tone. Thus we find that the glass-paintings which were contemporary with the Early English and Early Decorated styles of architecture (which have a more sombre air than any of the succeeding Gothic styles of architecture) are in general the coldest in tone. This arises from the green hue of the white glass, and the peculiar tints of the other colours (which may perhaps be affected in some degree by the hue of the white glass that forms their basis), as the crimson tinted Ruby, the cold though rich Pot-metal yellow, and the green hue which corrects the violet in the blue glass. The yellow stain, though it enriched the effect of the early Decorated glass-paintings, can hardly be said to have diminished their coldness of tone, for it always partook of the hue of the white glass. It was not until nearly the end of the fifteenth century, at which time the sombreness of Gothic architecture had greatly diminished, if not entirely disappeared, that we perceive in painted glass anything approaching *warmth* of tone. Indeed, even as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, examples are to be seen hardly less cold than Early English glass-paintings. Again, though it would be difficult to prove that, in proportion as Gothic interiors became less dark and obscure, a preference was given to windows wholly or principally composed of white patterns, it cannot be denied that, as Gothic interiors became, by reason of the increased size and number of their windows, more light, the Picture glass-paintings themselves not only contained a less quantity of coloured and a greater

proportion of white and yellow stained glass, but eventually their colours individually became less intense in hue. The glass used in all Early English glass-paintings, whether white or coloured, is, owing to its peculiar texture, remarkable for intensity of hue. Even a white Pattern window of the Early English style has a solidity of effect, arising from the strong rich green tint and porcelain-like nature of its material, that would seem but ill calculated to accord with a lighter style of architecture than the Early English. Nothing could harmonize better with the character of the north transept of York than the "Five Sisters." But the deepest colouring known in painted glass occurs in Early English Picture windows, especially in the earlier examples. In these windows but little white glass is used, and this generally is of a strong green tint; deep blues and reds predominate, and the lighter shades of colour, as pink, purple, and violet, possess a relative degree of strength. The colour of each picture is, in principle, simple and grave. The flesh-colour is deep; the draperies are stiff patches of white or coloured glass, not designedly varying in depth; and the figure or group is usually backed with a stiff blue or red ground. Landscapes with a gradually tinted sky never occur. The general appearance of the window is a mass of variegated and brilliant colouring of the deepest hue and most solemn tone. Decorated Picture windows, however, though they exhibit the same simple and grave principle of colouring, and though, at least in the earlier examples of them, tints often occur individually as intense as those of an Early English window, are, owing to the greater infusion of white glass into their design, considerably lighter in their general appearance than Early English Picture windows. Progressive changes in the manufacture of the glass tended to diminish its intense hue and apparently dense texture, but this, so far from checking the employment of white glass in Picture glass-paintings, had the reverse effect; as is shown by the Picture glass-paintings of the Perpendicular style, in which there is always a much greater proportion of white glass than is seen in Decorated examples. The palest Picture glass-paintings are those of the latter half of the fifteenth century, in which, in connection with a light cast of colouring, the principle of employing a large proportion of white glass is carried to the fullest extent.

But the harmony between Gothic Picture glass-paintings and Gothic architecture does not seem to extend beyond what has been stated. It is clear that these glass-paintings, in order

perfectly to harmonize with the architecture, ought to be in all respects as refined and advanced, in point of art, as the architecture and sculpture are. It can, however, be easily proved that Gothic Picture glass-paintings of every period are very inferior in design and execution to the buildings and architectural ornaments with which they are associated. But it will be sufficient to point out the incongruity, in some respects, of Early English Picture glass-paintings and Early English architecture, since these are the most popular styles of painted glass and Gothic architecture, and between which the greatest degree of harmony is usually supposed to exist.

A favourable specimen of Early English architecture suggests, at least to ordinary observers, no incompleteness either in the character and proportions of the architecture itself, or in the form of its conventional ornaments. Yet any representation of the human figure, when attempted in the sculpture, is immediately perceived to be palpably incorrect both in its proportions and details, defects easily accounted for when we consider the peculiar study which the human form demands, and recollect that in the thirteenth century—to use the words of Flaxman—"the sculptor could not be instructed in anatomy, for there were no anatomists."[1]

On examining an Early English Picture glass-painting, we find the human form still less correctly rendered than in the sculpture, which is not surprising, because, at a time when the laws of Perspective were unknown, it was more difficult to draw correctly than to model. In this respect, therefore, there is a want of harmony between the glass and the architecture. But the inferiority of Early English Picture glass-paintings to Early English architecture is apparent in many other particulars. For instance, that flagrant violation of the rule of composition that regulates the size and complication of ornaments by the distance from which they are intended to be seen, which is so common in Early English Medallion windows, rarely, if ever, occurs in Early English architecture or sculpture.[2] Again, the figures, and canopies, and alto-reliefs that adorn Early English

[1] Lectures on Sculpture, p. 15.

[2] The figures of the alto-reliefs representing the General Resurrection, which occupy the upper part of the west front of Wells Cathedral, are distinctly visible from below; yet the same subject, which occupies the lower lights of the east window of the choir, is executed on so small a scale, that it is difficult to make out its component parts from the floor of the cathedral, even with a pocket telescope. It is true that the glass is Early Decorated, and the sculpture Early English, yet the comparison may be fairly made.

architecture, are remarkable for their boldness and prominence, for strongly contrasted lights and shadows, and deep undercuttings; yet in Early English glass-paintings the pictures are, on the contrary, remarkable for their excessive flatness. The canopy, for instance, conveys scarcely any other idea than that of a border to the coloured ground in which the figure is imbedded; and in the medallion pictures, the objects in the background are universally represented in the same plane with the group in the foreground. This flatness, being unintentional, as clearly appears from the abortive attempts made to overcome it, can only be regarded as a defect, and a further proof of the incompleteness of Early English Picture glass-paintings, in comparison with Early English architecture and sculpture. It is otherwise with Early English Pattern glass-paintings; they are but a species of mere surface decoration, and their flatness is perfectly consistent with the nature of their design.

It could easily be shown that all other Gothic Picture glass-paintings disagree with the contemporary architecture in many respects; but it is unnecessary to pursue the inquiry further to justify the conclusion, that, although Gothic Pattern glass-paintings may be considered to harmonize with Gothic architecture, Gothic Picture glass-paintings do so but imperfectly. It of course follows that the modern imitations of the latter, even if they were exact, cannot harmonize with the architecture, since the originals do not. But the observations which I shall now proceed to make on the nature of modern glass will show that these imitations cannot be exact; and that all imitations of Gothic glass-paintings, whether patterns or pictures, and more especially those of the earlier styles, will be deficient in that part of harmony which is dependent on the tone and colouring of the work: the imitations of Picture glass-paintings thus failing of the desired harmony on two accounts.

It has been stated in a former part of this paper, that various changes in the texture of the glass itself took place at various periods in the history of the art, and that the nature of the material is always, to a certain extent, characteristic of the age of the glass-painting. Therefore, in order to make an *exact* copy of any ancient glass-painting, we must possess either a material identical with that of which it is composed, or something equivalent to it. Down to the present time, however, the glass manufacturers have not succeeded in reproducing a material identical with that even of the sixteenth century, which is less homoge-

neous, and, consequently, apparently denser in its texture,[1] than modern glass. The modern imitations of the still earlier kinds of glass are, as might be expected, still less successful. Every expedient that has yet been tried has produced but a slight approximation to what is required. No material having the porcelain character, richness, and gem-like brilliancy of the glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, has yet been made. The modern glass is all too clear and homogeneous in texture, and too uniform in depth or shade of colour. Modern Ruby glass is poor in comparison with the rich streaky Ruby glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the "Rolled" Pot-metal and white glass, being of uniform thickness all over, have none of the richness and vivacity of the ancient Pot-metal and white glass, which, having been blown in a rude inartificial manner, are very irregular in thickness, and, consequently, exhibit corresponding varieties or shades of tint. Thus, it is evident that, until the manufacture of the ancient material is *effectually* revived,—and against this there are obstacles more numerous and formidable than would at first be supposed,[2]—modern imitations of ancient painted windows, and especially of those belonging to the earlier styles, must necessarily be more or less faulty.

A comparison of the modern imitation of an Early English Medallion window, lately put up in Lincoln Cathedral, with the genuine Early English glass remaining in the transept and choir windows, will show the fruitlessness of attempting to reproduce an Early English Picture design in modern glass. In order, no doubt, to correct the thinness of the modern material, and to give it as much as possible the apparent substance of the old, the glass in the modern window I am speaking of has been covered with a coat of Enamel Brown paint: an expedient which, though it perfectly destroys the brilliancy of the glass, fails in its object to impart to the window the requisite depth and solidity. The window is flimsy, as well as dull in appearance; its colours have none of the gravity and gem-like brilliancy of the old ones;

[1] I use the expression *apparent* density, because, in fact, modern glass is more dense, *i.e.* specifically heavier, than old glass.

[2] Before the ancient material is reproduced, the manufacturer must have recourse to the ancient mode of preparing the materials and colours of the glass; and perhaps to a different kind of furnace from that now in use. But such an entire change of system is hardly to be expected, when we recollect how small a quantity of glass, compared with what is annually manufactured, is consumed by the glass-painters.

and owing to the highly homogeneous texture of modern glass, which renders it peculiarly unfit for minute mosaics, the little bits of red and blue in this window run together, and form a violet when seen from a little distance. As, however, it may be objected that this window is by no means a favourable specimen of modern craft, I will refer to another work put up about the same time as the last, in Ely Cathedral (both windows bear date 1847), by M. Gérente, the French glass-painter before mentioned. In this window also the design and execution of an Early English Medallion window have been closely imitated, and with better success. In particular, the window is brilliant, the glass not having been much dulled with the Enamel colour, and the blue used in it very closely resembles the ancient in its hue; nevertheless, the uniform depth of the coloured glass, and more especially the thin and flimsy appearance of the window, are fatal to its correctness as an imitative work. Affecting to be an Early English Picture window, it wholly wants the essential characteristic of an Early English Picture window—the grandeur arising from the use of solid, deep, and vivid colouring.[1] At Chester Cathedral, two modern Picture windows have lately been put up; the one is in imitation of Early Decorated, the other of Perpendicular glass; but notwithstanding the great difference of their detail, both windows are immediately perceived to be of the same date, because glass alike in texture has been used in the formation of each.

It is far more easy, however, to notice these defects, than to suggest the means by which similar failures may be avoided; and yet it is necessary that attention should be directed to the subject, in order that we may be able to impart to Gothic glass-paintings that harmony with Gothic architecture which is considered an essential requisite in them.

Harmony, as we have seen, is dependent partly on the nature and execution of the design, partly and principally on the tone of the colouring. On the former of these sources of harmony

[1] The most favourable place for viewing this window from is in the churchyard, through one of the windows of the north transept, whence the colours appear sufficiently deep and strong; the eye being unable to take in more than a small portion of the rays that pass through the glass, owing to the contraction of the pupil caused by the glare of the outdoor light. From the interior of the cathedral, however, the colours appear weak and feeble, as stated in the text, owing to the dilation of the pupil which the darkness of the place occasions. Of course it follows, that, if at any time the cathedral should be rendered darker by the introduction of more painted windows, the colours of M. Gérente's window will appear proportionably lighter.

I shall not make many observations, as it is that which is most within the reach of the modern artist, and in which he may, without much difficulty, succeed, though his ancient predecessor has failed. The succeeding part of this paper will therefore be principally directed to a consideration of the best means of obtaining harmony from the second of these sources.

The chief difficulty lies in devising some method by which, in a Picture glass-painting (for the object may be more easily accomplished in a white pattern), an effect of colour may be produced that will harmonize with the more gloomy Gothic edifices, such as those of the Early English style. "By colouring," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "the first effect of the picture is produced."[1] This remark applies with the utmost force to a glass-painting, of which the colouring is so important a feature that everything else may be considered subordinate to it. We have already seen that the colouring which best accords with the sombre character of Gothic architecture is of a cold tone, and that tints the most solid and intense harmonize best with the darkness of an Early English interior. Yet of the glass which the modern glass-painter must use, one or two sorts only can be said to approximate to the effect of Early English glass in their cold grave hue and substantial appearance. Most of the modern colours, besides being raw, have a warm,[2] rather than a cold tone. This is particularly the case with the blue glass. Still I am inclined to think that glass-paintings might be made to harmonize with Gothic buildings, even with those of the Early English style, in a greater degree than has hitherto been the case, by the exercise of some care and judgment in making the design, arranging its colours, and executing the work.

The principle that regulates the colouring of an Early English window, by which all nice and prettily graduated tints are excluded, and distinct uniform and forcible colours only are used, is of itself, by reason of its simplicity, an element of grandeur, which ought to be adopted in a work that aims at solemnity of effect.[3] Therefore, in a modern window designed for an Early English building, it would seem preferable to use

[1] Fourth Discourse.

[2] The warm tone of the colouring of the great south window of the transept of Westminster Abbey is a defect, though, I fear, one that could not by any possibility have been avoided in a work intended for such a place. The warmth of colour would, however, have been unobjectionable, had the painting been put in a dark building in the Italian or Palladian style, as St. Paul's Cathedral.

[3] Reynolds's Fourth Discourse.

stiff-coloured or white backgrounds for the pictures, than landscape backgrounds; for the latter could only be adequately represented by using graduated tints, which would not only destroy the simplicity of the colouring, but necessarily involve a diminution of its depth. So the flesh-colour of the figures should be deep, and their draperies consist of stiff simple tints. But whilst adopting generally the mediæval principle of colouring, it will be found necessary to introduce certain modifications in the use and arrangement of individual colours, and some novelties in the design and execution of the picture, in order to compensate as much as possible for the thinness and weakness of modern glass, and produce an effect of depth, as well as brilliancy.

The principal innovations that seem desirable are, the adoption of a broader and less mosaic system of colouring, the use of a greater proportion of white glass, and the employment of shadows far more effective and powerful than are usually met with in an Early English Picture window.[1] These (and others of hardly less importance might be mentioned, such as the correct drawing of the human figure and scientific treatment of drapery) may be advocated as improvements on the ancient system;[2] but their adoption, as a means of producing the desired effect, is rendered necessary by the peculiar texture of modern glass. Any one who has paid attention to the subject must have perceived that modern glass diffuses or spreads its hue laterally, in a much greater degree than the glass of the thirteenth century; and that the confusion of tint arising from this circumstance increases in proportion to the minuteness and pellucidness of the pieces employed. We have seen the ill effect of attempting to correct this diffusion of colour at the expense of the transparency of the glass: the most obvious expedient is to avoid, as much as possible, the use of such minute mosaics, and to design the window accordingly. The employment of white glass in much greater quantity than is seen in ancient Early English Picture windows is necessary, in order to increase

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[1] Even were it possible to obtain glass exactly like that of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I should still advocate the use of powerful shadows.

[2] The propriety of imitating the defective drawing of the mediæval artists is, I believe, now pretty generally denied by its former advocates. Other notions, such as the necessity of keeping glass-painting purposely in an undeveloped state, "lest it should cease to be the handmaid of Gothic architecture," will probably be exploded in due course of time, when the subject is better understood.

by contrast the apparent depth of the modern coloured glass: which, unlike the glass of the thirteenth century, is not solid enough to withstand the weakening effect on individual tints caused by placing a number of strong colours in juxtaposition, unrelieved with white glass.[1] If white glass of a sufficiently green and cold tone is used for this purpose, the grandeur and solemnity of the window is rather increased than diminished by its introduction. In proof, I may refer to the Jesse which occupies the south end of the transept of Stafford Church; a work scarcely inferior to an original example in depth of effect, though a greater proportion of white glass is used in it than would appear in an ancient Early English Jesse, from which its design is borrowed.[2]

Powerful stipple shadows[3] in the figures and draperies will materially check the tendency of modern glass to diffuse its tint, without destroying its transparency; and will also serve to increase the depth and richness of the colouring, and the general solidity and grandeur of the design. Such shadows, when combined with brilliant lights, and confined within due limits of superficial extent, as we find them in Cinquecento glass-paintings, can never, however strong, produce a dull effect; for the brilliancy of the material is shown in the sparkling lights, and is enhanced by the darkness of the shadows. They also promote harmony of effect, and serve to correct the natural spottiness of a Picture glass-painting, by preventing too violent transitions from one colour to another. They also materially conduce to the distinctness of the design, by separating the various objects from each other, and cutting them out from the ground of the picture. It is obvious that the mere use of strong contrasts of light and shade, without diminution of the depth of

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[1] The window of the south transept, Westminster Abbey, has white glass enough to have given value to the other colours, had not its tint been too much subdued by the enamel brown shading. This, and the want of more powerful shadows and clear lights, especially in the larger subjects, seem to be the chief technical defects of the window as a glass-painting. Yet such is the superiority of this work over its contemporaries, both here and abroad (and it should be recollected that it is the first English work in which any attempt to carry out a legitimate system of glass-painting has been attempted), that, had Mr. Nixon done nothing else, it would have been sufficient to entitle him to the respect of those who desire to see the true revival of a neglected and underrated branch of art. I will venture to say that this window will be appreciated in proportion as glass-painting becomes better understood.

[2] The window was painted by Ward and Nixon.

[3] The superiority of stipple to smear shadows is shown in the 'Hints on Glass-painting,' pp. 249, 286.

the local colours, cannot detract from the simplicity of the design; and that strong outlines may be united with strong shadows whenever they may be necessary in order to make the execution of the figures harmonize with that of the mere pattern-work. Yet the employment of strong shadows in any Picture glass-painting, and particularly in one designed after an Early English model, has been so pertinaciously objected to, that it seems worth while to examine the grounds of the objection. The most plausible ground of defence for the flatness of mediæval Picture glass-paintings is founded on the opinion that, as these works formed part of that system of surface decoration which covered the walls and sculpture with flat patches of burnished gold and gaudy colours, they ought to be flat, in order to harmonize with the flatness of the pictures on the wall: the flatness of the latter being maintained on the ground that it was contrary to the principles of mediæval art to practise ocular deception. The proof of this last assertion, however, lies on those who make it: and when we perceive that a mediæval mural picture, unlike a mural diaper pattern, is not wholly devoid of shadow, and that linear perspective is not unfrequently attempted in it, the inference is that the flatness of the picture has its origin rather in an imperfect and undeveloped state of the art of representation, than in any deliberate intention: an inference which is strengthened by the fact, that this flatness often appears to vary in degree with the skill of the artist as shown in his treatment of the subject in other respects. Assuming, however, the correctness of the opinion above alluded to, it affords an additional reason for discarding flatness from modern Picture glass-paintings. For the mediæval system of surface decoration no longer existing, a detached part of it (like the unconnected portions of any other whole when deprived of their proper accompaniments) can hardly be expected to please. Flat Picture glass-paintings, disjoined from the surface decorations of which they are supposed to have formed a part, would stand alone without anything to countenance and harmonize with them. Even if this were not the case, it would be unreasonable to execute modern Picture glass-paintings, which must depend on their own unsupported merits, as if they were to form parts of a whole which has no existence. Flat Picture glass-paintings, according to the opinion above noticed, will be out of place except in buildings where the walls are stiffly illuminated after the mediæval fashion. Therefore, if we wish to introduce them, we must, in order to be consistent, also illuminate the walls. But modern taste will probably always

prevent this practice, which, though it might have harmonized with the gaudy and glittering costumes of our mediæval ancestors, would present too glaring and violent a contrast to the more sober and more elegant colours now in use.

Another objection, which has been urged against the use of strong shadows in a Picture glass-painting, from a fear that they might diminish the brilliancy of the work, has already been answered; a third objection to apparent roundness being given to objects in a Picture glass-painting, because calculated to convey an idea of their substantiality, contrary to our perception of the fact that the light actually does pass through them, seems unworthy of serious notice, for it strikes at the root of all imitation whatever. On the other hand, it is difficult to reconcile the flatness of mediæval Picture glass-paintings with the relief of the contemporary sculpture, or, perhaps, with any sound principle of taste. Indeed, if it be proper that the conditions of glass-painting should be reduced below the conditions of sculpture, and that its Pictorial productions should continue to be, like the mediæval examples, little else than flat mosaics, it would always be better to choose for the subject of a glass-painting a mere pattern, rather than a picture; because a more exact balance and arrangement of colour can be preserved in a mosaic consisting of a stiff formal pattern, than in one composed, as a picture, of figures and draperies.

It will be observed that the foregoing suggestions and recommendations, however inconsistent with the practice of making servile copies of ancient Picture glass-paintings, are in no wise opposed to the use of designs founded on their principle. The idea suggested by an Early English Medallion window might be well carried out by treating the medallions strictly as pictures, having stiff-coloured or white grounds. No attempt should be made, as in the original, to represent a landscape background to the picture, either by merely introducing conventional objects, according to the practice of the mediæval artists, or by means of aërial perspective, in conformity with the truer principles of modern art: for the first course would involve an absurdity unworthy of perpetuation, and the light-tinted effect produced by the latter would be opposed to the stiff and solemn colouring of the rest of the window. Each medallion should contain simply a group of figures, relieved with bold shadows, and contrasted in colour to the ground of the panel. The character and arrangement of the figures and draperies might be borrowed, not copied, from the sculpture of the thirteenth century, which abounds in noble and graceful draped

forms, that, without any loss of simplicity, might be perfected by the refinement of modern art. And the importance of the pictures should be fully maintained by making the surrounding ornamental details subordinate to them in all respects. The Early English Figure and Canopy window, and especially the Jesse window, might with similar modifications be made to harmonize with the architecture more completely than the ancient examples. If the former type should be followed, the canopy, which is as much an integral part of the picture as the figure, should be represented as an object covering the figure, and as a niche into which the figure casts a shade. A small amount of shadow might suffice, but enough should be used to insulate the figure as completely as this is done in the sculpture. No Early English designs are, however, more worthy of study, certainly none are so well suited to the nature of modern glass as white Pattern windows. The cold tone and substantial appearance of these windows have been well imitated in "Powell's Pressed Glass," in the transept windows of the new church at Hackney,[1] and more especially in the east window of the south aisle of Stafford Church, the work of Ward and Nixon. Pictures (if inserted into these windows) would have a rich effect, owing to the contrast which the white of the pattern would present to their colouring.

In like manner, many of the ancient Decorated designs might suggest useful hints to the modern glass-painter. The white Pattern windows could be imitated in the modern material as successfully as the Early English white patterns. The usual design of the ancient Figure and Canopy window would, however, if adopted, require considerable modification to render it satisfactory, owing to the great disproportion which the architectural accessories bear to the figure, by which the latter, instead of being the principal object in the picture, is often rendered the most insignificant. It would be better, in the case of large single figures, to follow another ancient arrangement, and place them on a background of ornamented quarries. In the choir of St. Sebald's Church, Nuremberg, is a late Decorated canopy, representing the interior of an apse, with figures in it, which extends quite across a four-lighted window. Such a canopy, if properly treated, might be rendered highly conducive to the general effect of the picture. Whether its strong cast of colour might not prove too heavy for a *mullioned* window, is a question that cannot be easily determined without trying the

[1] The *design* of these windows is not alluded to.

experiment. It certainly would not be heavier in effect than many ancient designs. I consider strong Stipple Shadows, good drawing, and a large quantity of white glass of a cold tone, indispensable to the full effect of a picture founded on the ancient Decorated model. The artist would, I think, do well to avoid in these works a too liberal use of the yellow stain, on account of its tendency to impart a yellowness to the surrounding white glass. Many modern windows in which much stain is used, especially those composed of the yellow-tinted "Cathedral Glass," appear at a little distance as if they were wholly yellow. It should be borne in mind that, the stained yellow being rarely, like another colour, surrounded with an outline of considerable strength, there is little to counteract its diffusive tendency.

It is unnecessary to make any lengthened observations on the subject of Picture windows, designed for Perpendicular and Classical edifices. The artist would not fail to borrow, as suitable to the nature of modern glass, the breadth and arrangement of colour which is equally displayed in the works both of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; whilst a careful study of the Cinquecento style would teach him to avoid, by means of strong transparent shadows, the spottiness and indistinctness of Perpendicular Picture glass-paintings, and to produce the most powerful and striking effects with the most flimsy materials. It would be easy, without, of course, using Cinquecento forms, to adopt the Cinquecento improvements on Gothic designs, so as to increase the general effect of the picture by means of its architectural details. A gayer tone of colouring might easily be imparted to glass-paintings intended for Classical buildings; and in these works, if not in the glass-paintings intended for the later Perpendicular architecture, the use of landscape backgrounds, exhibiting such graduated shades of colour as the modern improvements on the Mosaic system can effect, would not be out of character, except in those cases where, owing to the darkness of the situation, or other circumstances, a more simple style of colouring would be requisite, and which might involve the use of plain backgrounds to the pictures. In like manner a more severe character could be imparted to the glass-painting in other respects, according to the severity of the architecture. Indeed, severity of style,—that is, the simplicity which suggests no defect, as in Greek art,—is not only attainable in a glass-painting, but seems most in accordance with the principles of the art. The ornamented quarry patterns would be as appropriate now as they ever were

for Perpendicular buildings, and it would be easy to enrich them when necessary, by the introduction of small coloured pictures, or knots of foliage: whilst "Round glass," in panes of at least six inches diameter, would be found a cheap, appropriate, and effective material for white Pattern windows, intended for Classical edifices.[1]

The foregoing observations will not have been useless should they merely have the effect of directing attention to a point in general too little regarded in the selection of a painted window —its fitness for the place it is intended to occupy. Of course the mode of execution must depend on the artistic skill of the painter.[2] We cannot expect any general improvement in glass-painting to take place so long as considerable patronage is bestowed on unworthy objects; so long as great countenance is given to works the design and execution of which would not be tolerated in any other branch of art.

My best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln for granting me free access to the glass in their cathedral, and other assistance which materially facilitated my researches.

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[1] The windows of Michael Angelo's noble design for the church of St. John Baptist, at Florence, are represented as glazed with Round glass. See Jacob de Rubeis, 'Insignium Romæ Templorum,' plate 48.

[2] I presume that the Commissioners on the Fine Arts are not responsible for the execution of the painted windows of the House of Lords.

IV.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS AT SALISBURY.

From the volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at Salisbury, 1849.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, like many of our ecclesiastical edifices, affords a far better opportunity of studying ancient painted glass in detail, and learning the conventionalities of design, which are too often supposed to be the sole test of style, than of contemplating it in mass, and accustoming the eye to those other indications of date which are to be found in its colour and general appearance. The inquirer who proceeds to Salisbury must therefore be content for the most part with an examination of little else than fragments, and to consume much time in the laborious process of unravelling patchwork made up of glass of different designs and different dates.

The most woful destruction of the painted glass appears to have taken place during Mr. Wyatt's "restoration" of the cathedral; when, in the words of my informant, "whole cartloads of glass, lead, and other rubbish were removed from the nave and transepts, and shot into the town-ditch, then in course of being filled up; whilst a good deal of similar rubbish was used to level the ground near the chapter-house."[1] The surviving frag-

[1] The latter part of this statement was confirmed by Mr. William Ranger, glazier to the cathedral, in the employ of Mr. Fisher, the clerk of the works, —who informed me that he possessed the head of a figure which some years ago he saw dug up near the chapter-house, along with other fragments of painted glass, by some workmen employed in making holes for some scaffold-poles. Mr. Ranger, who, since 1819, has been employed in repairing the cathedral windows, assisted in placing the greater part of the painted glass in its present situation. The information I have obtained from him has therefore been particularly valuable, since it has enabled me to state positively that such and such glass was brought from the chapter-house, or from elsewhere. I may add, that in every instance I found his information was corroborated by the character of the glass. I take this opportunity of acknowledging also the kind assistance I have derived from Mr. Fisher, and

ments,[1] it seems, were suffered to retain their original position in the building until about thirty years ago, when the majority were collected together as they now appear,—an act which, however praiseworthy in itself, as tending perhaps to preserve the glass from utter destruction, has greatly increased the difficulty of analysing the fragments, and describing them intelligibly.

With a view to render this paper as illustrative as possible of the different styles of painted glass, I propose to notice first the oldest remains in Salisbury, viz. the original glass of the cathedral and chapter-house; and then, successively, the Decorated remains in St. Thomas's Church, Salisbury, and the Perpendicular glass in the hall of John Halle; concluding with some remarks on the later and modern glass in the cathedral.

Mr. Osmond, a gentleman in Mr. Fisher's office, in the course of my investigations.

[1] At the time of the great destruction of the Salisbury glass, some fragments were preserved by being transferred to the windows of Grately Church, Hants. I am under a deep obligation to the Rev. C. Dodson and W. Gale, Esq., the incumbent and churchwarden of Grateley, for having, during the recent repairs of their church, forwarded these remains for my inspection. They consist principally of a few varieties of ornamental borders; some ornamental scroll-work, similar in character to that of the "Jesse" in the west window of Salisbury Cathedral; a small fragment of a medallion, representing the Annunciation (of this, only a portion of the angel remains, with a scroll on his head, inscribed GABRIEL, in Lombardic characters); and a very fine circular medallion, set in a square of ornamental work, representing the martyrdom of St. Stephen. The saint, habited as a deacon, is in the act of falling, with his hands in an attitude of prayer, dead to the ground. A man immediately behind appears to communicate, with an air of savage exultation, the fatal event to another miscreant, who is approaching (as I think is indicated by the fragments that remain of this figure) with his mantle filled with stones, and seems disappointed at being too late. Both men have decidedly Jewish physiognomies. The group is delineated with great spirit. Below is the following inscription, in Lombardic characters,

STEPHANVS ORANS EXPIRAT.

The saint's head is painted on a piece of light ruby glass. This mode of indicating the effect of wounds is not unusual. There is an instance of it in a medallion of the thirteenth century, at West Horsley Church, Surrey, representing the angel rescuing St. Catherine from the punishment of the wheel. The heads of two of the executioners, who seem to have been struck down by the angel, are painted on red glass. The head of St. Stephen in a window of Sefonds Church, dated 1524, appears from the description, and an uncoloured engraving of it given in M. Arnaud's 'Voyage archéologique et pittoresque dans le Département de l'Aube et dans l'ancien Diocèse de Troyes,' to be painted on a piece of white glass streaked with ruby. The description is as follows: "Celui de ces vitraux que nous avons fait dessiner représente le martyre de Saint Etienne. On voit ce saint vêtu en diacre, la tête inondée du sang qui jaillit de ses blessures" (p. 228).

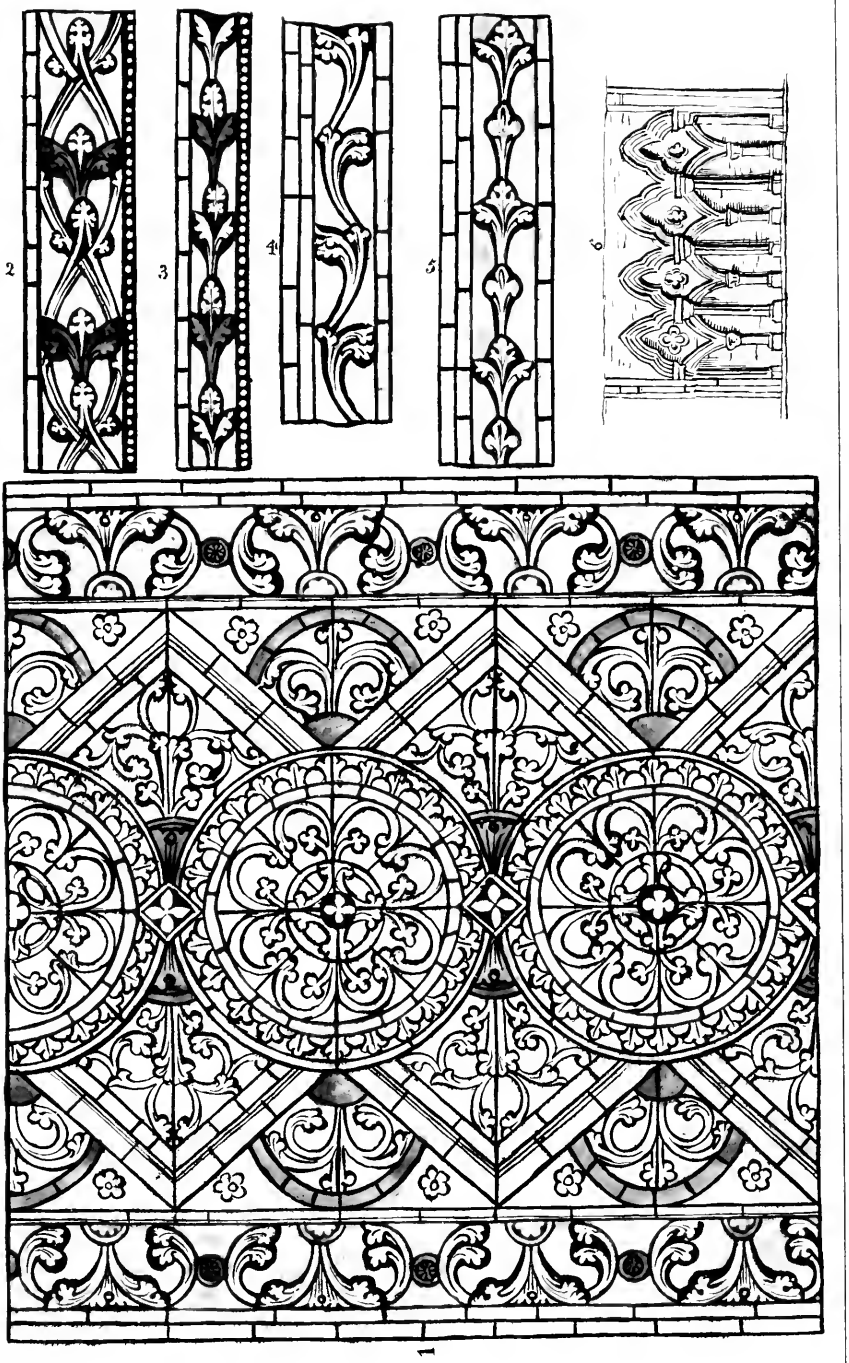
All these fragments at Grateley are of the same date as the Jesse in the west window of Salisbury Cathedral; from which it may be inferred that they belonged to the cathedral, not to the chapter-house.

The original glass of the cathedral and chapter-house—by which I mean that which is coeval with these buildings—is valuable as belonging to different periods of the Early English style; the oldest specimen being perhaps as early as 1240, and the most recent not earlier than perhaps 1270 or 1280. Part of this glass belonged to the cathedral and part to the chapter-house. It is now all mixed together in the cathedral windows; but I have succeeded in distinguishing the different portions, and hope that I may be equally successful in enabling others to distinguish them.

Of these ancient remains only two specimens retain their original situation, viz. a part of the glazing of the second and fourth transept, counting from the north of the great north transept. The rest are collected in the west triplet of the nave; in the west window of each aisle of the nave; in the east window of each aisle of the choir; in the lower south triplet of the small south transept; and in the two centre lights of the upper tier of the south windows of the great south transept. A few other fragments are preserved in the glazier's room attached to the cathedral. The subjects consist chiefly of ornamental patterns; but these are the remains of a "Stem of Jesse," as well as some medallion pictures, borders, and shields of arms.

The remains of the Stem of Jesse are contained in the lower part and sides of the central light of the northern triplet of the nave.[1] They were removed from a window of the great north transept, in which they had been inserted in the course of repairs. Another portion, no longer existing, is represented in the 79th plate of Carter's 'Ancient Architecture,' fig. Q, and is there called "ancient glazing in the nave;" from which I infer that it was in one of the aisle windows of the nave, which, not improbably, was the original situation of the Jesse. The Jesse appears, from the existing fragments and from the plate in Carter, to have been designed according to the usual type of the period; and to have consisted of a vine, whose ramifications formed a central series of ovals containing representations of our Lord and His principal ancestors, and supported on offshoots from the ovals, the figures of prophets, patriarchs, and other attendants.

[1] The window, previously to the present glass being placed in it, was filled with a bad ornamental pattern, the gift of the Rev. Benson Earle. Of this the general outline is preserved in the 5th plate of Britton's 'History of Salisbury Cathedral,' and in a view of the west end of the cathedral in Dodsworth's 'History of Salisbury.' Some small pieces of the glass are worked into the west triplet and other windows of the cathedral.



Philip Delamotte del from a drawing by C Winston

Vincent Brooks

SALISBURY

Two only of the ovals remain. They are on each side of the large Cinquecento picture of a bishop enthroned, which is so conspicuous an object in the lower half of the central light, and nearly in a line with the head of this figure. In the southern oval is represented our Saviour[1] enthroned, holding a book in one hand, the other being raised in benediction. The head is that of a middle-aged person; it possesses much of the Byzantine character, and is surrounded with a cruciferous aureole. The *stigmata* are not shown in the hands and feet.

In the northern oval is represented a female seated, and in an attitude of adoration. I presume the figure is intended for the Blessed Virgin.

The most perfect remains of that part of the composition which constitutes the space outside the ovals are on the south side of the central light, near the bottom. They consist of foliaged scrolls, which support an unnimbed full-length figure holding a blank label—the usual personification of a prophet—and an angel. Between these figures is a small bust, which issues from the termination of one of the foliaged scrolls, and may be supposed to represent a prophet or patriarch. Similar fragments of foliaged scroll-work and figures may be seen higher up, on the south side of the light; and higher still, in a line with the large circle almost at the top of the light, are two demi-attendant figures, which, from their size and altitude, I conclude originally flanked the highest oval of the Jesse. A good deal of the border originally belonging to the light that contained the Jesse is used as a border to the central light of the triplet. A portion of this border is given in the first plate that accompanies this paper: see fig. 2.[2]

[1] I *presume* that this is correct. In the "Jesse" in the east window of Westwell Church, Kent, the topmost object is the Holy Dove; the second, a similar representation to that in the text, of one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and which likewise is without the stigmata. The third subject is the Virgin Mary, unaccompanied by the Divine Infant. A distinction is perhaps taken between the representation of our Saviour as Judge of the world,—when He is, I believe, invariably represented with the stigmata, in allusion perhaps to Zech. xii. 10, Rev. i. 7,—and when He is represented either as sitting in His kingdom, or else in His human capacity. An instance of our Saviour sitting on a throne, without the stigmata, is given in No. 24 of the 'Archæological Journal,' p. 412. Other examples may be seen in the plates to the paper on St. Ethelwold's Benedictional, in the 24th volume of the 'Archæologia,' &c. The centre figure of our Saviour in the north rose of Lincoln Cathedral is unfortunately so mutilated that it is impossible to say whether or not it had the stigmata. Had the figure been perfect, it would have thrown light on the subject. See an account of this window in the Lincoln volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute.

[2] The illustrations which originally accompanied this memoir are mentioned

The whole Jesse is on a ruby ground, the colour of which is extremely rich and intense; the main stem is white, and formed of short lengths of foliage, each terminating in a trefoil or cinquefoil, according to the ordinary convention of the thirteenth century. The offshoots are of the same character as the parent stem; but some of the leaves at the termination of the scrolls are of different colours. Small bunches of grapes are occasionally introduced. The attendant figures are tall and slim; the heads have a certain classical character, and bear considerable resemblance to the specimen given in the 'Hints on Glass-painting,' plate 34, fig. 2; which is copied from a contemporary Jesse in Westwell Church, Kent.

All the draperies are full of small folds, expressed by outlines so strong and black as almost to render the use of broader and softer shadows unnecessary. The colouring of every part of the design is rich, deep, and vivid. The blue, which is of the peculiar grey though rich hue common at this period,[1] and the flesh-colour, are of strong tint. The white glass is of a greenish-blue hue; it is but little affected by the atmosphere, and, on the whole, is not quite so deep as the rather later white glass taken from the chapter-house, and which is now in the west triplet. The date of the Jesse is certainly in the first half of the thirteenth century; it may be placed as early as 1240.

Of the medallion pictures to which I have alluded, two appear, from many particulars, to be coeval with the Jesse. They are inserted beneath the two ovals, in a line nearly with the feet of the Cinquecento bishop. The south medallion represents the

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in a note to this passage, as a first attempt with the "anastatic process," and a wish is expressed that they had been less rough. The remarks there made on them do not apply to the illustrations accompanying the memoir in the present volume, which are new lithographs.

[1] I am persuaded that the peculiar tint of the early English blue pot-metal glass, noticed in the text, principally arises from the green hue of the white glass that forms its base. It will be found that some kinds of modern blue glass may be given the precise tint of the old, by placing a piece of early English white glass behind them. The nearest approach to the colour—certainly not to the depth of effect—of Early English blue glass that I have hitherto met with, is in the window which the late M. Gérente first put up in Ely Cathedral. In his second window he is not more successful than his English contemporaries; the same remark equally applies to all his brother's work that I have seen. I fear that our glass-works are on too extended a scale to render it worth their proprietors' while to make glass fit for glass-painting purposes, and that no advance in this respect is to be expected till the smaller men take the matter up. An inquiry into the nature of the colouring material of ancient blue glass has long engaged my attention; but my researches are still incomplete.

Angel appearing to Zacharias in the Temple; the north, the Adoration of the Magi. These medallions were brought from the same window as the remains of the Jesse. Two other medallions of the thirteenth century are inserted in the west triplet; but they seem to be French, and possibly were brought from Normandy with some of the later pictures now used to fill up the lights. One is the small circular panel, containing two figures, that is placed in the centre light, a little above the oval in which is represented the Blessed Virgin. It appears to be of the last half of the thirteenth century. The other is a circle of larger size inserted near the top of the northern light of the triplet. There is nothing in any of these medallions that calls for particular notice. The figures are according to the style of the period, and the groups are, as usual, plain and distinct, owing to their simple composition and the manner in which the individual figures are cut out and insulated by the surrounding coloured ground of the panel. Modern glass-painters in their imitations of Early English medallions are too apt to neglect the simplicity of the ancient arrangement, and to make their own groups confused and indistinct. It must, however, be admitted that there are "authorities" in their favour, as in the case of medallions representing the Ascension or the Day of Pentecost, in which the complication of the group and want of relief through the absence of broad shadows cause indistinctness, and create a doubt whether the ancient medallions in which distinctness is observable were designed with a view to that quality, or merely in accordance with the prevailing taste for simple compositions, which is equally exemplified in illuminations and drawings intended for the closest inspection.

The rest of the medallion pictures are of a somewhat later date than the Jesse. They were all removed from the windows of the chapter-house, and are placed in the west triplet of the nave and in the west windows of the nave aisles. From their style of execution I conclude that they are not earlier than 1270. The principal subject is a large circle almost at the top of the centre light of the west triplet, which contains two figures, a bishop and a king (Edw. Confessor?), under an archway. The panel was removed from the middle of the large octofoil of one of the windows of the chapter-house. On comparing this circle with the Jesse and the two contemporary medallions, some remarkable differences in the drawing of the figures and texture of the glass will appear. In particular, I may mention the character of the eyes and eyebrows of the figures. Their heads

somewhat resemble the example given in the 'Hints on Glass-painting,' plate 37, fig. 1. The flesh-colour is much lighter than that used in the Jesse, as is also the blue ground of the plane, though this has a rich appearance.

The next remains in point of importance are two large elongated quatrefoil panels, each containing an ecclesiastical figure under an archway, which are inserted in each side of the centre light of the triplet, immediately below a Cinquecento representation of the Crucifixion, which forms (reckoning from the top) the third principal object in the centre of the window. These quatrefoils were removed from the largest spandrils of some of the windows of the chapter-house. In drawing, execution, and general character, they entirely resemble the large circle which has just been described. Another quatrefoil, like the last, but containing the figure of a regal person, lies in the glazier's room attached to the cathedral. It was likewise removed from the spandril of one of the chapter-house windows.

The remaining medallions are ten small circles, four of which are inserted in the upper part of the lower lights of the west windows of the aisles of the nave; the rest are placed in the centre light of the west triplet. These circles were all removed from the centres of the quatrefoil of some of the chapter-house windows. Each circle contains a demi-figure of an angel issuing from a cloud; and it would seem that these angels originally formed part of some subject from the Revelations, or perhaps the Last Judgment. Some of the angels point upwards with the hand, and use encouraging gestures; others carry a book in one hand. One bears a long napkin (an emblem of our Lord's Passion); another holds a palm-branch and crown; a third, a book in one hand and a crescent in the other. In character and execution they exactly resemble the other subjects taken from the chapter-house.

Six shields of arms in a perfect condition, and a seventh, of which but little, if any, of the original glass exists, are placed at the bottom of the lights of the west triplet. The panels in which they are inserted are made up of fragments, and the crowns above the shields are mostly of Perpendicular date. These shields were removed from the chapter-house; and it may be inferred from the plate in Carter's 'Ancient Architecture,' before alluded to, that they were placed—with another coat now lost, but which is represented in that plate—in pairs, side by side, in the four lower lights of the east window of the chapter-house. It is most probable that the shields were arranged in a line just

beneath the spring of the heads of the lights. They have every appearance of being of the same date as the rest of the glass from the chapter-house.

The important aid to be derived from heraldry in seeking a date is well known to every antiquary; I shall therefore perhaps be excused if I enter somewhat fully into the question of the probable ownership of these arms, though I admit there is too much uncertainty as to what other shields (if any) there may have been in the chapter-house windows to warrant any confident conclusion, from this species of evidence alone, as to the precise time of the execution of the arms, and of the glass with which they were originally associated.

The existing arms are:—1. *England;* gules, three lions passant guardant, or. 2. *France;* azure, semé of fleurs-de-lis, or. 3. Paly of eight, or and gules, which I do not hesitate to assign to *Provence;* for though the arms of Provence may be admitted to be properly or, four pallets, gules, as they appear on the wall of the south aisle of Westminster Abbey, yet this very coat, Paly of eight, or and gules, occurs in a window in York Minster, associated with others that leave no doubt of its having been intended for Provence, and also in the east window of the clear-story, Westminster Abbey. 4. *Plantagenet* Earl of Cornwall; argent, a lion rampant, gules, crowned or, within a bordure sable besanté. 5. *Clare* Earl of Gloucester; or, three chevrons gules. And 6. *Bigod* Earl of Norfolk; or, a cross gules. There are also some pieces of glass very like Bezants inserted in a modern blue bordure of the "made-up" shield before mentioned, and which consists of a sixteenth-century imp, on a ground of white glass, of the same date as that belonging to the chapter-house. These Bezants may have formed part of a seventh original shield; and if so, in all probability, it was a second coat of Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall, but differenced with a label. Besides these heraldic remains, there appears in Carter's plate another coat as before mentioned, viz. *Warren;* checky or and azure.

The arms of England may safely be assumed to be those of Henry III. or Edward I., and Provence was the paternal coat of Eleanor, the queen of Henry III., who survived him, and died in 1291. The arms of France are probably to be referred to St. Louis, who married the eldest sister of Queen Eleanor, and died in 1270, and whose shield was carved on the wall of the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, with his name, "S. Ludovicus Rex Francie," inscribed above. The coat of Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall was borne by Richard Earl of Cornwall and King of

the Romans, the brother of Henry III., who died in 1271. And if this coat was repeated, the second must have been that of his son Edmund, who succeeded him, and died in 1300. Clare was the coat of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who had married a niece of Henry III., viz. a daughter of his half-brother, Guy Count of Angoulême, son of Queen Isabella by her second marriage, and who died in 1295. Warren was that of John Earl of Warren and Surrey, who had married a half-sister of Henry III., and died in 1304. The remaining coat, or, a cross gules, was that of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, whose mother was one of the co-heiresses of the Marshals Earls of Pembroke, and who, after her death, became Earl Marshal of England in or about 1245, and died in 1269 or 1270; or else that of his nephew Roger, who succeeded him in the earldom and the office of marshal. Neither of these two noblemen seems to have been more nearly allied to the royal family than by a mother and sister of the mother of Roger the uncle, having respectively married a sister and mother of Henry III.

Now, judging from these several coats,—and it is by no means clear that there were ever any others in the windows of the chapter-house,—they indicate a period of a few years before and after the accession of Edward I. in 1272, as that within which it is likely this glass was executed, and particularly if there really were two coats of the Plantagenets Earls of Cornwall.

It may possibly be thought that the arms of France may have referred to Margaret, the second queen of Edward I., whom he married in 1299; but that could hardly be the case, if there were two shields with the arms of Plantagenet Earls of Cornwall, as Earl Richard died in 1271; and even if there was only one shield with those arms, the occurrence of the arms of Provence is unfavourable to that supposition.

The arms or, a cross gules, which I have attributed, and I believe correctly, to Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, may seem to create a difficulty, in consequence of the arms of the Marshals Earls of Pembroke—per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules—having been assumed and used on seals for some purposes by him after he became Earl Marshal; and in consequence of Vincent, in his 'Errors of Brooke,' p. 340, having stated, in contradiction of what Brooke had said of their having been used by him for the purposes of the marshalship only, that they were used in donations, covenants, &c., and not in matters of the marshalship at all. But I would submit that this statement of Vincent is evidently too strong; for though he might have

known of a seal with those arms being affixed to donations and covenants, and he might not have met with any instance of its being employed in matters relating to the marshalship, yet he could not know that it was not so used at all; nor does it follow that the earl, after he was marshal, used these arms only. In fact, these arms, or a cross gules, were carved in stone, and painted amongst the series of shields on the wall of the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, and inscribed, "Rogerus Bigod Comes Norfolcie:" and it is evident that those shields must have been executed several years after Earl Roger became Earl Marshal; and indeed, in all probability, but a few years before the date which I have assigned to this glass. Unfortunately the seal of Earl Roger the nephew, affixed to the Barons' letter to the Pope in 1301, has no arms at all, but only his name and title; but it is apparent, from what is stated by Milles and Brooke, that Hugh Bigod, father of the elder Earl Roger, sealed sometimes with a lion passant, and sometimes with this cross; and therefore there is no improbability of these arms being those of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, though he may have sometimes sealed with the arms of marshal. I am aware that this coat was borne at a later period by the De Burghs Earls of Ulster; but no one of them appears to have been connected with the royal family, or to have had any important place in this country till about 1310, when John de Burgh married Elizabeth de Clare, daughter of Joan of Acre. On the whole, therefore, it must be evident that the heraldry in this glass agrees very satisfactorily with the date which I have assigned to it on other grounds.

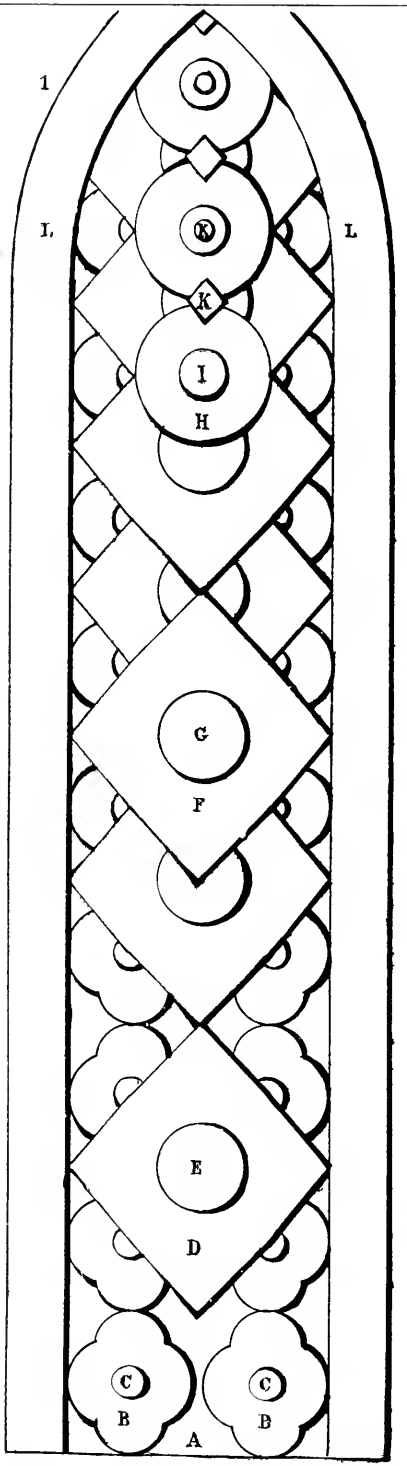
The ornamental patterns belonging to the cathedral and to the chapter-house next demand our attention. The majority of these patterns are of painted glass; but there are a few which may be called Geometrical Patterns, in which the design is expressed solely by the lead-work used in the construction of the window. The principal remains of the painted patterns, of which there are between twenty and thirty varieties, are in the west windows of the aisles of the nave, in the east windows of the aisles of the choir, in the lowest triplet of the small south transept, and in the two upper south lights of the great south transept. Some fragments are inserted in the west triplet of the nave.

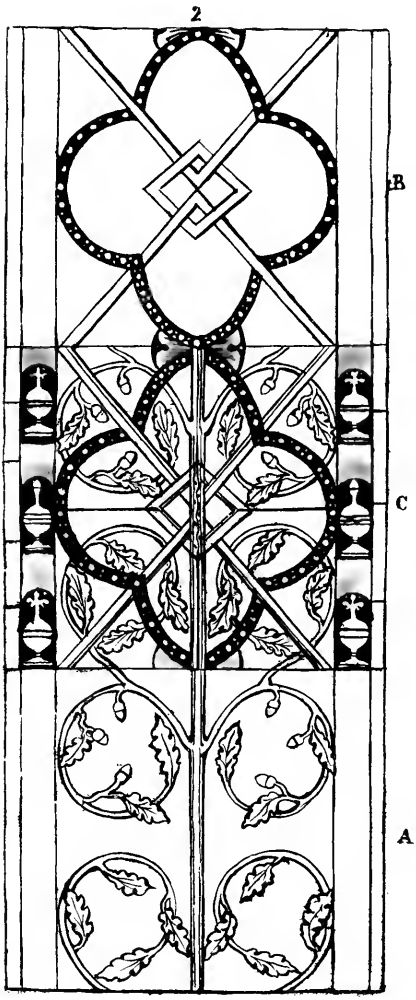
These patterns form a series varying in date from that of the Jesse to that of the shields of arms in the west triplet. The earlier patterns are distinguishable principally by the drawing of

the foliage; the scrolls of which are in general less twisted, and the lobe of the leaf, as compared with the stalk, is somewhat smaller than in the later examples. The cross-hatching (making, of course, due allowance for patterns designed for more distant situations) is in general coarser in the earlier specimens; whilst the glass of the later patterns, in which cross-hatching is used, is for the most part of a yellower hue than the glass of the earlier patterns. The latest patterns, including all those belonging to the chapter-house, want the cross-hatched ground. It is, however, impossible to describe exactly the minute differences on which the supposition as to the date of the different patterns rests; it is only by the eye that they can be appreciated.

The patterns, though various in design, exhibit in a greater or less degree a principle of composition almost peculiar to Early English glass, which seems to have been suggested by the idea of forming a rich and complicated pattern by arranging, in strata or layers, a number of plane figures or panels, in such a manner that the panels composing each layer might overlap and partially conceal those beneath. By way of illustrating this principle, I have given, in Plate I., fig. 1, a rough sketch of a pattern now in the east window of the north aisle of the choir, and which, though belonging to the chapter-house, exemplifies the system in a more striking manner than perhaps any of the earlier patterns. It will be seen, on examination, that the pattern is composed of a number of panels. Each panel has a well-defined border; and the area of the panel is covered with an ornament exclusively appropriated to it. The smallest panels merely have a narrow edging, and a quatrefoil, or some such ornament, within; the larger panels are ornamented with foliaged scroll-works, the ramifications of which do not overstep the limits of the border of the panel, nor extend from one panel into another; by which the idea that each panel is a distinct superficies is sustained. A reference to Plate II., fig. 1, which gives the analysis of this pattern, will render the foregoing description more intelligible. In this plate, A denotes the ground or foundation of the window; B, a quatrefoil, which, with seventeen similar panels, some of which are only partially shown in the diagram, forms the 1st layer or plane of ornament; C is a circular panel, which, with seventeen others, constitutes the 2nd plane of ornament; D is a nearly square, though really octagonal panel,[1]

[1] The pattern being slightly elongated, in order to fill up a particular opening, has rendered this form of panel necessary.





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which, with three others, forms the 3rd plane of ornament; E is a circular panel, which, with three others, forms the 4th plane of ornament; F is a panel similar to D, which, with two others, forms the 5th plane of ornament; G is a circular panel like E, which, with two others, forms the 6th plane of ornament; H is a circular panel, which, with two others, forms the 7th plane of ornament; I is a circular panel, which, with two others, forms the 8th plane of ornament; K K are quadrangular and circular panels, constituting the 9th plane of ornament; L indicates the border of the window, which, as in the head of the light it cuts the rest of the design, must be taken to constitute the 10th plane of ornament.

It is interesting to trace the progressive changes in the style of ornamental patterns. Without venturing to assert that the system just described was *exclusively* used at the earliest period, I may safely state that, in general, a deviation from it betokens, at least in the glass of this country, a lateness of date.[1] Thus, in the Five Sisters at York, which are carefully figured in Browne's 'History of York Cathedral,' and whose date is probably not much earlier than 1260, although the before-mentioned principle is in great measure preserved, it is occasionally violated by the ornamental scroll-work breaking from the area of a panel through the border, and extending its ramifications beyond it, over other parts of the design. The result is to impair, if not destroy, the idea of the panel's being an individual superficies,

[1] The principle of ornament by means of layers of panels, described in the text, is not fanciful, as might at first be supposed. I have long ago remarked it in a great variety of examples; and I believe it is only once violated, and then in a trifling degree, in the Salisbury patterns. The instance to which I allude is in one of the lights of the south triplet of the small south transept.

The following plates may be referred to in illustration of it: *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges*, plate, étude 11, in which two of the Salisbury patterns are represented; Grisailles D, in which four more are given; and Grisailles E, in which six other examples are engraved. Many of the patterns in this plate are misrepresented in having cross-hatched grounds. The border sketched in Plate I., fig 2, of the present paper, is in the Grisailles E, fig. 3, misappropriated to the same chapter-house pattern (furnished in the plate with a cross-hatched ground) which I have sketched in the first plate that accompanies this paper, fig. 1. In the French work many of the foliaged scrolls are also erroneously represented in *relief*, by thickening, contrary to the fact, one of the outlines of the scroll. There are other minor inaccuracies in these and other engravings of the *Monographie*, showing that the plates of this work, however magnificent, and useful to those who have seen the glass, are not to be implicitly trusted. See other specimens of Early English patterns, in Lyson's 'Bucks,' plate facing p. 488; in the 'Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in ancient Painted Glass,' plates 5, 6, 8, and 10; and in Browne's 'History of York Cathedral,' plates 61, 63, 65, 67, and 69.

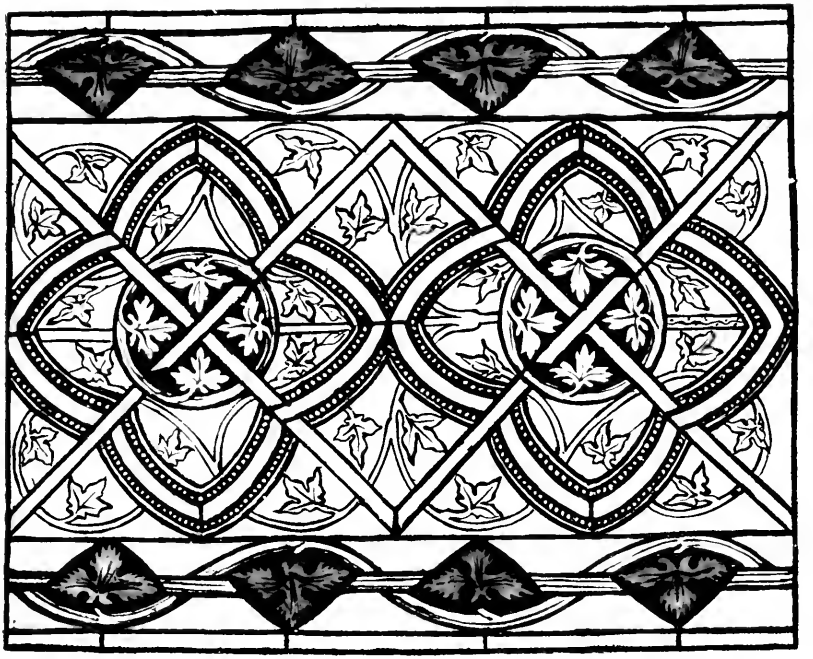
and to reduce what primarily was a border to a plane figure, to a mere line of decoration, laid as it were upon the ground-work of the design. The transition thus becomes easy from the Early English to the Decorated ornamental pattern, in which the foliaged scroll-work freely spreads itself over the entire area of the window, forming a ground-work upon which is laid an open interlaced pattern of narrow bands and fillets of various geometrical forms.

It is easy to recognise in the shape of the principal fillets the outlines of the panels used in the preceding style, though these, having ceased to constitute anything else than mere lines of ornament, may happen to be linked together or interlaced. By way of illustrating the text, I have given, in Plate III.,[1] a rough sketch of an early German Decorated pattern (see fig. 1), in which the ornamental scroll-work is confined within the limits of the demi-quatrefoil panels at the sides of the design, but breaks through the borders of the demi-quatrefoil panels at the top and bottom of the design; and also a rough sketch of an early Decorated pattern from Chartham church, Kent (see fig. 2), in which the scroll-work freely extends over the area of the design. I have also given, in Plate II., the analysis (see fig. 2) of a Decorated pattern from Stanford church, Northamptonshire. In this diagram, the part opposite A represents the scroll-work forming the ground of the pattern; that opposite B, the interlaced fillets; and that opposite C, the complete pattern formed by laying the interlaced fillets upon the scroll-work.[2] The outline of the Early English quatrefoil panel will be easily recognised in the form of the beaded quatrefoil fillet.

The principle of employing several planes of ornament for purposes of enrichment pervades mediæval decoration. Its application to iron-work has been pointed out by Mr. Pugin, and its application to window-tracery by Professor Willis. In both these cases, in general, each plane is in design rather complementary than opposed to that of the plane which precedes it in order of ornament; but instances do occur in architecture as well as in painted glass, where the general effect of the composition is produced by the *intersection* of the designs of different planes of ornament, as in the triforium arcade of Beverley Minster, figured in the eleventh page of the 'Remarks on

[1] The drawings are made to a scale of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch to a foot. The German pattern is now in the west window of Camberwell Church.

[2] In this particular instance the centre stem of the foliaged scroll-work is interwoven with the interlaced fillets, which is rather unusual.



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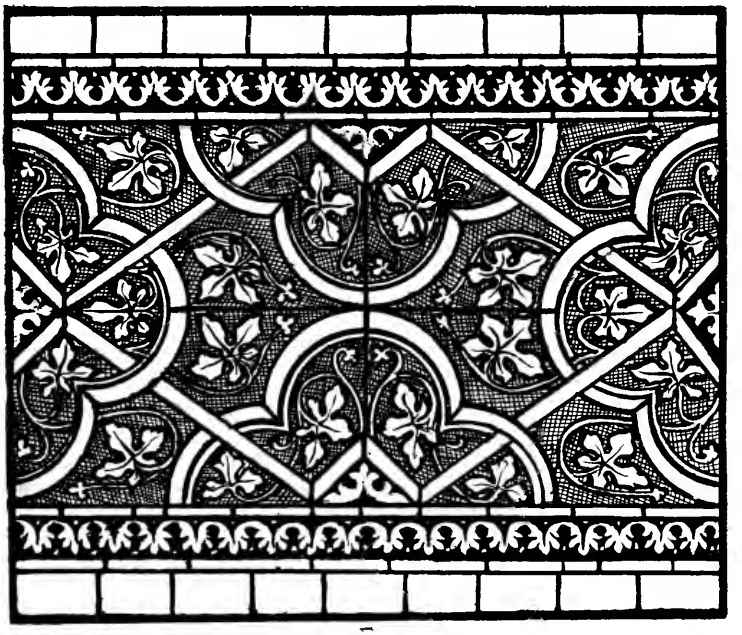

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Beverley Minster' in the York volume of the Archæological Institute, of which, for facility of reference, I have given a tracing in Plate I., fig. 6. We may also recognise the principle of intersecting planes of ornament as well in those cases where an entire picture in painted glass extends beyond the limits of a single light, and is actually severed by the mullions of a window, as in those where the *subject* rather than the picture is cut by the mullions, it being composed of separate individual parts, which occupy the spaces between the mullions without being touched by them. Of the former arrangement there are many instances in early Decorated glass at Cologne, where some of the figures even are cut by the mullions, and elsewhere; and very numerous instances in later glass. Of the latter, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the early Decorated glass of Bristol Cathedral, and the very common subject of the Crucifixion, with the attendant Mary and John, in glass of all dates, afford sufficient examples.

The painted ornamental patterns of the cathedral and chapter-house are principally composed of white glass, colour being sparingly introduced in the borders and centres of the panels. The white glass in some of the later patterns belonging to the cathedral is of a dusky yellow hue; in the majority, however, of the patterns it is of a cold though rich sea-green hue. To the texture and hue of the glass these patterns owe their substantial and solemn appearance, which makes them harmonize with the character of the architecture, and with the picture glass-paintings that are coeval with them. The local colour of the white glass is, except in the dusk of the evening, less strikingly apparent on a close than on a distant view. Thus the ancient windows, unlike the modern copies in the great south transept, are in great measure independent for richness of the pattern painted on the glass; for when the pattern itself is lost in distance, the local colour of the material shows itself the more distinctly.

Much of the foliaged scroll-work used in these patterns is of great beauty; one of the best specimens is perhaps afforded by the pattern in the west window of the north aisle of the nave.

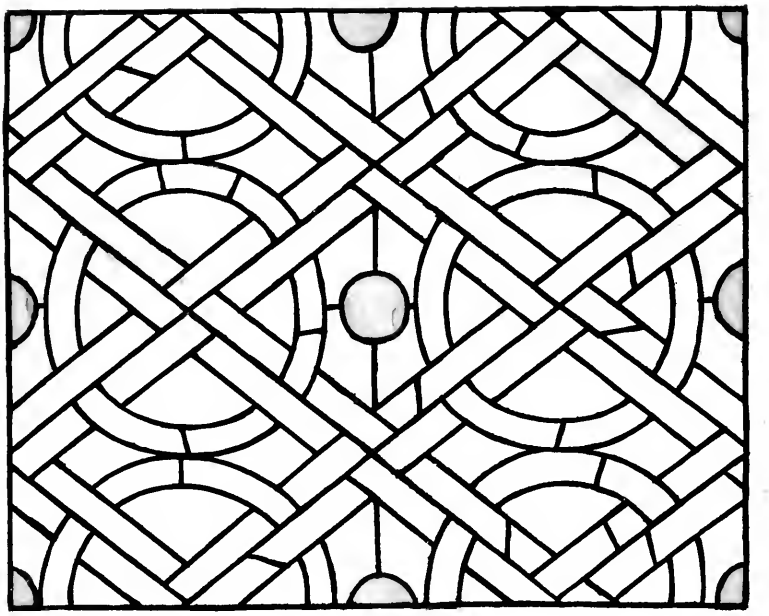
It is impossible to say whether or not all these pattern windows originally had ornamented borders. If the glass slightly indicated in the 26th plate of Britton's 'History of Salisbury Cathedral' was then in its original position, it would

afford ground for supposing that some of the patterns were separated from the stone-work only by a plain narrow strip of white glass; the small proportion of borders in existence, as compared with the number of the patterns, seems somewhat to countenance this supposition. There is but one border, besides that of the Jesse, coeval with the older patterns. A sketch of it is given in Plate I. fig 2. It is now in the south light of the west triplet, mingled with a later border from the chapter-house. I think it may be identified with fig. B in Carter's plate, which is there designated as a "border from the nave." The borders of the patterns in the east windows of the choir aisles, and the west windows of the nave aisles, were added at the same time that the patterns were removed to these situations. The fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground, which are inserted in the border of the west window of the south aisle of the nave, were taken from another window of the cathedral, and from their form do not appear to be earlier than the reign of Edward III. That they are not as old as the pattern is placed beyond a doubt by the fact of their execution on yellow *stained* glass.[1]

It is clear that ornamented borders were used in the chapter-house windows. Three varieties of these borders remain in the west triplet, and are sketched in Plate I. figs. 1, 4, and 5, which may be identified respectively with figures U, V, and W in Carter's plate, and which shows that they belonged to the chapter-house.[2] I have appropriated one of these borders to the pattern fig. 1 (though it appears from Carter's plate that the border belonged to a different pattern), as I found that its addition made the pattern 4 feet 1 inch wide—the exact width of the chapter-house lower lights. Another pattern from the chapter-house, one half of which is inserted in each of the two upper south lights of the great south transept, if doubled and enlarged with a border of equal width to the last, would also exactly fit the lower lights of the chapter-house. This pattern resembles one represented in Carter's plate, fig. 5. There is one pattern now in the west light of the lowest triplet of the small south transept of the same character as the other patterns

[1] In the engraving of this pattern in Shaw's 'Encyclopedia of Ornament,' the form of the fleur-de-lis is humoured so as to accord with the date of the pattern.

[2] A border to one of the windows is represented in the slight indication of the chapter-house glass given in the 14th plate of Britton's 'History of Salisbury Cathedral.'



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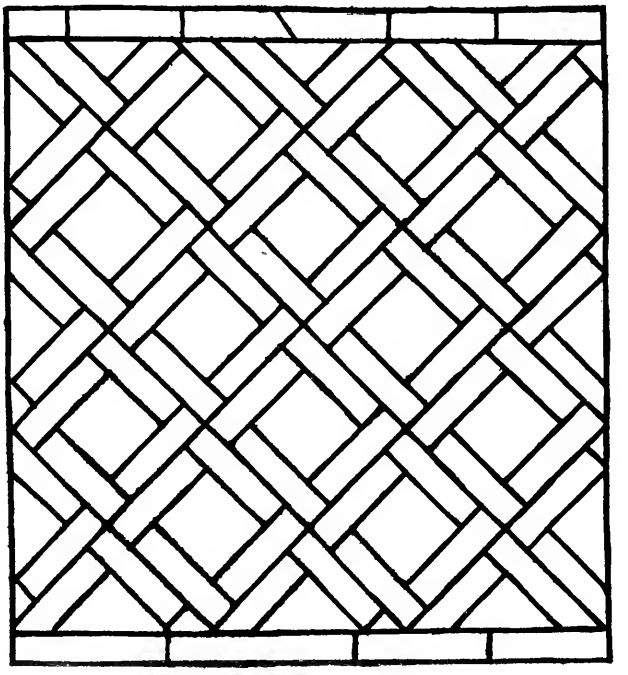

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from the chapter-house, which, if placed in one of the lights of that building, would admit only of a narrow strip of glass between it and the stone arch; but this pattern, if it ever belonged to the chapter-house, was removed thence long before the others, and the difference in the hue of its material favours the supposition that it originally belonged to some other place, most probably to a window of the cathedral.

Of the geometrical patterns before alluded to, two specimens retain their original position in two of the east clearstory windows of the great north transept. Four other specimens, which were removed from the clearstory, are inserted in the lowest part of the lights of the south triplet of the small south transept, and a few others lie at present in the glazier's room attached to the cathedral.

These patterns, as before observed, are entirely composed of plain pieces of glass leaded together. The border consists of a plain strip of white glass. In design, some resemble a window of quarries, having banded edges; but the majority suggest the idea of a number of plain flat members interwoven together. Sketches of two examples are given in Plate IV.[1] Most of these patterns are enriched by the occasional insertion of small plain pieces of coloured glass. The white glass employed in these patterns is, in general, of a deeper hue than that used in the painted patterns, and gives the windows in consequence the appearance of having been made up of refuse fragments. Some of the pieces of glass have almost a purple tint; the greater part incline from a light to a deep dusky yellow hue. These differences of tint impart great richness and variety to the patterns. I think it may be assumed that the geometrical patterns are coeval, at all events, with the later painted patterns that belong to the cathedral.

The next glass in order of date consists of a number of rather early Decorated quarries (in which the yellow stain is used) that are now employed as a border to the centre light of the east windows of the north and south aisles of the choir. These quarries were removed from a window of the small south transept, near the entrance to the vestry, where they were placed squarewise. The fleurs-de-lis in the border of the west window of the south aisle of the nave have already been noticed.

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[1] The drawings are made to a scale of $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch to a foot.

It now becomes necessary, for the purpose of continuing to investigate the remains of painted glass in order of date, to leave the cathedral for St. Thomas's church. The first window of the north aisle, counting from the east, retains in the head of both its outer lower lights, and in all its principal tracery lights, fragments of the scroll-work and coloured ground of a late Decorated Jesse;[1] the figures have all been destroyed. The stem, unlike that of the Jesse in the cathedral, is a flowing tendril of white glass from which proceed yellow-stained and other-coloured leaves and grapes. The stem is smear-shaded, and the ground of the lights is richly diapered. The smaller tracery lights are filled with small ornaments in white and yellow stained glass. The glass appears to be of the latter part of the reign of Edward III. A few small ornaments of the same character and date remain in the smaller tracery lights of several of the windows of the north aisle. The east window of the north aisle has been a figure and canopy window of the same date as the last glass. The head of an original canopy, composed of white and yellow stained glass, remains in the upper part of each of the two outer lower lights. In the tracery lights are some mutilated demi-figures, each under a canopy. Smear-shading is used in the figures, the drawing of which betokens the approach of the Perpendicular style.

The east window of the south aisle has the remains of canopies in its five lower lights, executed in white and yellow stained glass. In the two topmost tracery lights is represented the Coronation of the Virgin, and in each of the other tracery lights is a shield bearing a merchant's mark. This glass seems to be of the time of Henry VI. The white glass has a cold greenish tint, but not nearly so strong as that of the glass in the windows of the north aisle, which, again, is quite of a different hue from the white glass of the pattern windows of the cathedral and chapter-house.

In the vestry adjoining the north aisle of this church is a window of three lights, in which are represented, on brackets, not under canopies, one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity,

[1] The window itself is of early Perpendicular character. It is clear that, in general, the changes of style in architecture preceded the corresponding changes of style in painted glass. In the glass belonging to the chapter-house windows, the form of ornament is purely Early English; but in some of the sculpture of that edifice, particularly of the doorway, the Decorated foliage occurs.

St. Christopher, and a saint bishop. The lights are glazed with ornamental quarries, which form the background to the figures, and have borders composed of stained yellow ornaments on a red or blue ground. The glass appears to be also of the reign of Henry VI. The head of St. Christopher, and the whole of the Divine Infant, are painted on a piece of very light pot-metal pink glass, an unusual occurrence in English glass of this period. The elaborate finish of these figures, and general lightness of the colours used in the window, contrast strongly with the more simple and vigorous execution of the figures, and the vivid colouring of the Jesse in the cathedral. Stipple-shading is employed; but owing to a timid application of it, the figures appear quite flat.

The Hall of John Halle contains some excellent specimens of ornamental glazing and heraldry of the latter part of the reign of Henry VI., or commencement of the reign of Edward IV. The windows have all been "restored;" but it is easy to distinguish the modern additions, which are not extensive, from the original glazing. The lights have borders composed of small rectangular ornaments (three varieties placed alternately are generally used) of white and yellow stained glass, separated by small bits of plain blue and red, or blue, green, and pink glass. The upper cuspidation of the light is occupied with a lion's head, and the next cuspidation on each side with either a rose, a crown, a star with wavy rays, or a sun, painted on white and yellow stained glass. Ciphers, instead of roses, &c., are used in the six cuspidations of one of the lights on the east side of the hall. The ground of the lights is composed of ornamented quarries, between each row of which is inserted diagonally a scroll inscribed "drede."[1] A panel containing either a coat-of-arms or a badge is introduced in the upper part of each of the lights on the east side of the hall by being let in to the quarry-ground, the pattern of which is cut by the panel. This mode of introducing the panels affords another and a very common exemplification of the principle of employing different planes of ornament for purposes of enrichment. It may be said, indeed, that in these windows there are five planes of ornament, viz. 1st, the quarry-ground; 2nd, the scrolls, which are supposed to lie on the quarry-ground; 3rd, the

[1] An attempt is made in Duke's account of the hall to assign a meaning to this word.

panels; 4th, the shields or badges laid on the panels; and 5th, the border of the window which cuts the design. A representation of John Halle himself—of which, however, only the legs and ground beneath are original—occupies the centre of one of the lights on the west side of the hall. I must refer the reader to Duke's account of the Hall of John Halle for a description of the badges, and for the blazon of the shields.

The next remains in order of date are the pieces of late Perpendicular and Cinquecento glass used to fill up the west triplet of the nave and the centre-light of the east windows of the north and south aisles of the choir of the cathedral. Some of this glass was brought from France, some from the neighbourhood of Exeter. One subject, the arms of Henry VII., now in the top of the centre-light of the west triplet, was brought from one of the south windows of the south aisle of the nave. Not having examined these remains so minutely as the other glass, I am unable to give an equally detailed account of them. The subjects in the west triplet of the nave are, in the south light, a figure of St. Peter; a figure praying; a figure kneeling before a crucifix (St. Francis?); a group of figures; and a female saint; all which are in the style of the early part of the 16th century. The subjects in the centre-light are, a Crucifixion, with Mary and John; the Virgin crowned; a St. Peter; a bishop enthroned; all which are of the 16th century, and, as it is said, were brought from Normandy. Also the Invention of the Cross (the three crosses are each represented as a cross-tau); a Crucifixion, with Mary and John; all which are of the 16th century, and are said to have been brought from the neighbourhood of Exeter; and some angels bearing the Instruments of the Passion, also of the 16th century, and said to have been brought from Normandy.

In the north light the subjects are, a bishop, St. Anthony, the Betrayal of Christ, and a St. Catherine; all which are of the 16th century, and are said to be French glass. Unfortunately I took no memorandum of the subjects in the east windows of the choir aisles; they are of the same character as the rest.

Although these glass-paintings are not very favourable specimens of the state of the art in the 16th century, a careful examination of them will not be without advantage. They are executed on a material more flimsy than that used in the glass-paintings in the vestry-room of St. Thomas's church, or in the

Hall of John Halle; yet they are far more effective; and the groups of figures, though more complicated, are as distinct, when seen at a proper distance, as the simpler groups of the 13th century, and convey to the spectator as lively an idea of the subject represented. They thus afford a striking proof of the skill of the glass-painters of the 16th century, who, principally by means of admirable arrangements of colour, and the use of powerful though transparent shadows and brilliant lights, displayed the hitherto undeveloped resources of their art.

The latest old specimen of glass-painting in the cathedral is the arms of Bishop Jewell, which is dated 1562, and occupies the quatrefoil of the west window of the south aisle of the nave. The shield is placed within a wreath: and the whole composition is a remarkably favourable specimen of the period.

It now only remains for me to notice the modern glass in the cathedral; which is comprised in the windows of the Lady Chapel, the eastern triplet of the choir, and the south windows of the great south transept, with the exception of the two upper lights.

The eastern triplet of the Lady Chapel is filled with a representation of the Resurrection, designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds,[1] and executed by Francis Egington of Birmingham. I do not question the intrinsic merit of this composition, but it is unfortunately not of a nature suited to a glass-painting. The principal object, and indeed the only figure represented, is our Lord ascending from the tomb. In the distance are dimly seen the three crosses on Mount Calvary. Light emanating from our Saviour's person illuminates the objects in His immediate presence; all around is gloom. This effect is produced by means which cannot be satisfactorily resorted to in a glass-painting,—the keeping of a very large portion of the picture in comparative obscurity. For a gloomy or obscure effect in painted glass, however it may be aided by the employment of pot-metals, &c., of deep tint, can only be produced by an exclusion of the light, with nearly opaque enamels. And this, when carried beyond a certain limit, occasions a flat, heavy, and, paradoxical as it may appear, flimsy appearance, destructive of all impressiveness,

[1] It is stated in Gilpin's 'Western Counties,' that in his first design for the window Sir Joshua represented the mouth of the tomb closed; and when remonstrated with, defended himself on the ground that he had thereby enhanced the character of the miracle. It is more probable that Sir Joshua defended himself on the authority of ancient precedents.

and widely different from the depth and transparency of a picture in oils painted in equally deep tones. The task was thus imposed on the glass-painter—even had he possessed sufficient genius, instead of literally copying his model, to have embodied its spirit—of representing what is particularly difficult, if not incapable, of adequate representation in painted glass. A skilful glass-colourist might, to a certain extent, have succeeded in imparting to the window an effect more in accordance with Sir Joshua Reynolds's intention; but the course adopted by Egington, of executing the window entirely on *white* glass, with enamel colours and stains, was of all others that most calculated to ensure an unsatisfactory result. In comparison with what might have been effected, the colouring of the window is weak, and its brightest lights are dull; and the red-brown enamel in the landscape and sky, unaided by pot-metal glass, wholly fails of producing that supernatural lurid appearance which seems to have been intended by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The remaining windows of the Lady Chapel are also painted by Egington. They are filled with a quarry pattern, having a dull red rose stained in the midst of each quarry, and thickly covered with a reddish-brown ground. The effect of these windows, like that of the east window, is dull and heavy, without being deep or impressive.

The subject in the east window of the choir is the Lifting up of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness. It was executed by Pearson, after a design by Mortimer, and as a glass-painting is certainly superior to the east window of the Lady Chapel. The design is, in principle, not unsuitable to a glass-painting; there are no overpowering masses of heavy shadow, and the more positive colours are carried to the extreme verge of the picture. The colouring is lively, and the picture has a certain degree of brilliancy. Pot-metal glass, as well as enamel colours and stains, is employed. Still I cannot admit the fitness of the painting for its situation. The character of the architecture is severe, solemn, and gloomy; and would therefore appear to demand in the glass-painting simplicity of composition and colouring, as well as depth of tone: in short, a character the very opposite to that of the present window. A genuine Early English Pattern window, though possessing but little positive colour, would, owing to its depth of effect, and the gravity and solemnity of its appearance, have suited the place better. The "Five Sisters" harmonize admirably with the architecture of the north

transept of York. Another ground of objection appears to be, that the design is carried across the triplet independent of the divisions of the lights. It has been shown in a former part of this paper, that the practice of extending the design of a glass-painting beyond the limits of a single light is not only fully supported by the best authorities, but is strictly in accordance with the principles of mediæval composition. And indeed, when the lights are divided merely by mullions, the practice might safely be allowed to rest on its own merits: for, without having recourse to it, it would often be impossible to break, by the occasional introduction of a group, the painful monotony which would otherwise be occasioned by the continual repetition of single figures throughout a series of windows, or even in one large window, and at the same time ensure to the group sufficient size to produce a satisfactory effect. But in the present instance the lights are separated not by mullions, but by portions of wall, of such breadth as materially to weaken, if not destroy, the idea of the continuity of the subject; and thus an unpleasing effect is produced.

It may be conceded, that in this particular window the use of a landscape background is unfortunate, because it is opposed to that simplicity of colouring which is most in harmony with the character of the architecture. But apart from this consideration, the objection so continually urged in certain quarters against the employment in a painted window of such a landscape background as is compatible with the conditions of glass-painting, is untenable. It is true that the lead-lines, and want of atmosphere inseparable from painted glass, would be fatal to the effect of a glass-painting in which a landscape formed the most prominent object; but the landscape suitable to a glass-painting is a mere accessory, one of whose functions is as it were to *tie together* the composition, and which is very subordinate in interest to that of other parts of the composition. And such a landscape may be represented very adequately in painted glass,[1] quite as naturally indeed as any other object can be represented in a window. No objection founded on the want of means of representation can be urged against the use of a landscape in painted glass, which would not apply with equal force against its employment in a fresco, or other large picture. It is possible,

[1] This is denied in a recent article in the 'Ecclesiologist,' No. 74, p. 81; but the confusion of the writer's ideas is such as to render further comment superfluous.

no doubt, to represent almost any subject without such an adjunct; but none can deny the power of a landscape, when properly introduced, in assisting the picture, by an additional appeal to nature, to the performance of its true office,—that of awakening in the mind a lively idea of the subject represented. It therefore seems foolish, without some good reason, to debar the artist from availing himself of it. The landscape in Raphael's Miraculous Draught of Fishes has often been deservedly commended; if omitted, would the picture have proved so striking and effective?

It has sometimes been contended that the use of a landscape in any mural painting, and by consequence in a glass-painting, is improper; because, when we see a landscape painted on a wall, we know that we do not look upon an opening; that, when we see a landscape high up in a church window, we know that it is impossible that a landscape could be visible through a window in such a situation. The objection, however, is rather ingenious than solid. It rests on a misapprehension of the true and proper end of painting. This is not delusion; it is not to make the spectator suppose that the object represented is really present in the place where it is represented; it is only to awaken in the mind a lively idea of this object. "Imitations," says Dr. Johnson, "produce pain or pleasure, not because they are mistaken for realities, but because they bring realities to mind. When the imagination is recreated by a painted landscape, the trees are not supposed capable to give us shade, or the fountains coolness; but we consider how we should be pleased with such fountains playing beside us, and such woods waving over us." It is admitted that no one mistakes any such representation for a reality; it is therefore hard to perceive what possible impropriety there can be in our being suffered to see the representation in a spot where the reality cannot be, or why a rule should be applied to landscapes which does not hold good as to other subjects of painting. A third objection, and, as it seems to me, the only ground admitting of argument, is the difficulty of seeing such pictures from the true perspective point of sight; but the fact that numbers of pictures are viewed from what is not the true point of sight, and are yet seen with undiminished pleasure, seems to afford a complete answer to it.

The only other painted windows of the cathedral are those in the great south transept. The two topmost lights of the south end are, as before-mentioned, filled with early glass. The rest

contain modern copies of the Early English patterns, except the centre-light of the lowest triplet, which appears to be modern in design. These windows afford one of the many proofs that, however closely the design of ancient glass is copied, the imitation cannot be complete unless the texture of the ancient material is copied also.

V.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS IN NEW COLLEGE CHAPEL AND HALL, OXFORD.

(From the Archæological Journal, volume ix.)

IT has often been to me a matter of surprise that there should still be wanting, not only a detailed account, but even an accurate catalogue, of the numerous and interesting specimens of ancient painted glass existing in the public and collegiate buildings of Oxford, considering the number of persons addicted to Archæological pursuits who enjoy in an Oxford residence, and leisure time, peculiar facilities for such an undertaking.

The present paper hardly pretends to supply the latter desideratum, even in respect of the single example which forms its subject. I have had neither time nor opportunity to test the accuracy of my researches as rigidly as I could have wished; nor have I sought for any other documentary evidence than what has already appeared in print; therefore, what I have written must be regarded as a contribution only towards a more full and perfect description of the painted glass in New College Chapel and Hall. The labour expended upon it will, I dare say, be appreciated by those who have actually prosecuted similar inquiries.

It will render the following remarks on the glass in New College Chapel more intelligible if I state, at the outset, that this building consists of an Antechapel, or Transept, and of a Choir, or Inner Chapel, at right angles to it;—that the antechapel is furnished with a central west window, having fourteen lower lights—the widest in the chapel—arranged in two tiers, and a head of tracery, to which no further allusion need be made; two smaller west windows, one on either side the last, each having eight lower lights arranged in two tiers, and eighteen tracery lights, six only of which are capable of containing figures; two windows on the north, and one on the south side, precisely similar to the last in size and arrangement; and two

east windows, facing the smaller west windows, having twelve lower lights apiece—the narrowest in the chapel—and fourteen tracery lights, ten only of which are capable of containing figures;—and that the choir is furnished with five south and five north windows, of the same dimensions and arrangement as the smaller west windows of the antechapel.

I have been thus minute in noticing the relative widths of the lower lights of these windows, because the soundness of the conclusions at which I have arrived respecting the original arrangement of the glass in the chapel, in great measure depends on the fact of the lights of the two east windows being the narrowest, though of equal length with the others.

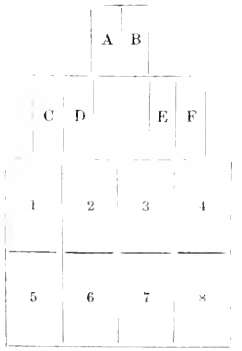
The remains of the oldest or original glazing are dispersed throughout all these windows, with the exception of the central west window; and from such an examination of them as time and circumstances have permitted, it appears to me that, when in a perfect state, the lower lights of the northernmost of the west windows, and of the two north windows of the antechapel, contained representations of the Patriarchs and other worthies of the Old Testament—a single figure under a canopy occupying each light; that in like manner the lower lights of the two east windows of the antechapel contained representations of the twelve Apostles, and of our Lord's Crucifixion, four times repeated; that similar representations of Old and New Testament and Church saints and worthies occupied the lower lights of the south and smaller west windows of the antechapel, and most probably the lower lights of all the choir windows; and that the various orders of angels[1] were represented in the principal tracery lights of the antechapel and choir windows, besides the Coronation of the Virgin, and Wykeham's Adoration of Christ, which are to be seen in the tracery of the east windows of the antechapel. I have no other clue to the subjects formerly represented in the central west window than what is derivable from the fragments removed from this window to make way for Sir Joshua Reynolds's design, and which are still, I believe, preserved in boxes at Winchester College. From the names which I found on searching these fragments during the Institute's visit to Winchester in 1845, I conclude that single canopied figures of Church saints occupied the lower lights of this window; but I should state that I also met with part of a small mitre, apparently belonging to the subject of Becket's Martyrdom, which,

[1] One complete set of angels is engraved in 'The Calendar of the Anglican Church illustrated,' Parker, Oxford, p. 116.

however, judging from the small size of the mitre, might have been inserted in the tracery lights of this window.[1]

I am sensible that the opinion I have formed respecting the original arrangement of the glass rests partly on hypothesis, partly on evidence, in no case conclusive, and in many cases weak and uncertain. With this apology I must leave the matter in the reader's hands, and hope that he will be amused with the description I shall give of the glass, however much he may otherwise differ from my views.

It will be convenient to commence with an examination of the glass in the northernmost of the west windows of the antechapel, in which window, as it would seem, the series of subjects originally began; and, in order to compensate as much as possible for the want of illustrative aid, I give the accompanying diagram of this window, in which the lower lights are distinguished by numbers, and the principal tracery lights by letters.



I shall employ the same diagram in explanation of all the other windows, except the central west and the two east windows of the antechapel.

THE NORTHERNMOST WEST WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

Each of the eight lower lights of this window is occupied, as already mentioned, with a canopy containing a single figure; and I will state, since an attention to such minutiæ will tend materially to facilitate our investigation of the other windows,

[1] The glass in Winchester College chapel unfortunately throws no light on the subject. That chapel has no west window. Its side windows are filled with canopied figures of saints and angels; and its east window with a design composed of the following subjects: The Stem of Jesse, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. When represented by itself, the Last Judgment is, I believe, most commonly assigned to a west window, but, when associated with the Crucifixion, it is very frequently met with in an east window. The Crucifixion is usually represented in an east window.

that each of the canopies in Nos. 1 and 3 has a flat hood, its spire background coloured blue, and the tapestry back of its niche, which extends upwards to the groining of the niche, red; and that the canopies in Nos. 2 and 4 have projecting hoods, red spire-grounds, and blue tapestries; whilst, in the lower tier of lights, Nos. 5 and 7 have projecting hoods, blue spire-grounds, and red tapestries; and Nos. 6 and 8 flat hoods, red spire-grounds, and blue tapestries. By these means, as will be perceived, a perfect alternation of form and colour is maintained throughout the canopies. All the canopies have projecting pedestals; but those only of the lower tier of lights are crossed by the founder's legend, "Orate pro Willelmo de Wykeham episcopo Wynton fundatore istius collegii," which is written upon a continuous scroll, divided only by the mullions of the window.

Light No. 1. *Jonas p'pheta* is written across the pedestal of the canopy. The figure, which, like the other Old Testament worthies, has no nimbus, holds a scroll inscribed, *Hebreus ego su' & dominu' d'm ceeli ego timeo.* (See Jonah i. 9.) The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned.[1]

No. 2. *Joel p'pheta* is written on the pedestal of the canopy. The scroll held by the figure is inscribed, *In valle josaphath iudicavit o'es ge'tes.* (See Joel iii. 12, of which this seems a paraphrase.) The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned.

No. 3. *Amos* [*p'ph*]*eta*[2] is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *qui* [*æd*]*ificat in celu' assenc'one' sua'.* (See Amos ix. 6.) The tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned.

No. 4. *Micheas p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *De* [*Si*] *on exhibit* [*egredietur lux & v*]*erbm' de vert.* (See Micah iv. 2.) The tapestry is powdered with letters M, crowned.

No. 5. *Ada' pm' pa*[*ter*] is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a spade, and looks sorrowful. The tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned. Part of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal of this and the next three canopies.

No. 6. *Eva m'r oi'u viveciu'* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a distaff. The tapestry is powdered with letters E, crowned.

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[1] The crowned letters bring to mind Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales:—

"Of small corall aboute hire arm she bare
A pair of bedes gauded all with grene,
And thereon heng a broche of gold ful shene,
On whiche was first yritten a crouned A,
And after, *Amor vincit omnia.*"

[2] The missing parts of the inscriptions, when this is practicable, are supplied within brackets.

No 7. *Seth filius Ade'* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a book. The tapestry is powdered with letters S, crowned.

No. 8. *Enoch tra'slat'* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a small scroll, inscribed, *ivit cu' deo.* The tapestry is powdered with letters E, crowned.

The tracery lights of this window, A to F inclusive, are each filled with a canopy under which stands an angel. *Troni* is written upon a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The angels throughout these tracery lights are alike in design. The canopies have alternately blue spire-grounds and red tapestries, or *vice versâ.* The smaller tracery lights are filled with ornaments, such as leaves, monsters, &c., painted upon white and yellow stained glass.

FIRST NORTH WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL FROM THE WEST.

Light No. 1. *Osee p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a scroll inscribed, *O mors ero* [*mo*]*rs tua morsus tuus ero inferne.* (See Hosea xiii. 14.) The tapestry is powdered with letters H, crowned. From which I infer either that the tapestry does not belong to this figure, or that in the course of repairs wrong letters have been inserted. However, it may have been a mere caprice to aspirate the name.

No. 2. *Abacuch p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *D'ne audivi* [*auditi*]*o'e tua' & timui.* (See Habakkuk iii. 2.) The tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned.

No. 3. *Ysaias p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *Ecce virgo concipiet & pariet filium.* (See Isaiah vii. 14.) The tapestry is powdered with letters Y, crowned.

No. 4. [*B*]*aruc p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *Post hec in tri's visus est & cu' hom' co'v'satus est.* (See Baruch iii. 37.) The tapestry is, however, powdered with letters M, crowned. Most of the remarks made on No. 1 equally apply here.

No. 5. *Mathusale fil's Enoch* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a small scroll, which appears to be inscribed with the following words: *Legem n mor'.* The tapestry is powdered with letters M, crowned. The following portion of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal: *Orate* p *Willm'o.*

No. 6. *Noe: $\frac{i}{q}$: archa': fab$^{i}_{c}$a* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds an oar. The tapestry is powdered with letters N, crowned. The portion of the founder's legend that crosses the pedestal is *de W——*

No. 7. *Abraha' p'riarcha* is written on the pedestal. The

tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned. The portion of the founder's legend which crosses the pedestal is . . . . *ton fu'dator'*.

No. 8. *Isaac patriarcha* is written on the pedestal. The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned. The portion of the founder's legend attached to this pedestal is *istius*——

Each of the tracery lights, A to F inclusive, is filled with a canopy, under which is a military figure, winged as an angel, clad in a basinet and camail, jupon, broad sword-belt, petticoat of mail below the jupon, and plate or cuirbouilli arm and leg armour. The figure holds a spear, to which a pennon charged with a plain cross is attached. *Prin: ci: pa: tus* is written on a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with ornaments as in the last window.

SECOND NORTH WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL FROM THE WEST.

No. 1 light. *Sophonias p'pha* is written on the pedestal of the canopy. The scroll held by the figure is inscribed, *Hec est civitas gl'riosa quia dicit ego sum.* (See Zephaniah ii. 15.) The tapestry is powdered with letters S, crowned.

No. 2. *Daniel p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The figure points downwards with its right hand, as if in allusion to the den of lions. On the scroll is written, *Post ebdomadas septuagenta* (sic) *duas occit'*. (See Daniel ix. 26.) The tapestry is powdered with letters D, crowned.

No. 3. *Jeremias p'pha* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed *Patre' vocabis me dicit d'ns.* (See Jeremiah iii. 19). The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned. Across the pedestal is written the following portion of the founder's legend, *orate p*——; which is either an insertion, or else shows that this figure was taken from some other window having prophets in its lower tier of lights.

No. 4. *Abdias p'pha* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *et rectum erit d'nm d'ni amen.* The tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned.

No. 5. *Jacobus p'ar* —— is written on the pedestal. The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned. The following portion of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal, *orate* p *Willmo.*

No. 6. *Judas ma* . . . . (Machabeus?) is written on the pedestal. The figure has a coronet and sceptre. The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned. The following portion of

the founder's legend is written across the pedestal: *de Wykeh'm ep'o.*

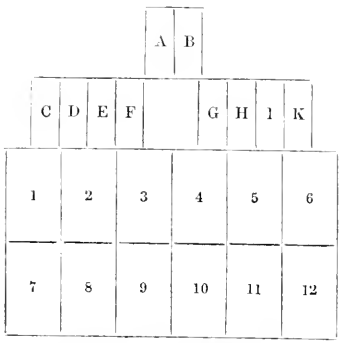
No. 7. *Moyses dux P'li dei* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds in his left hand a green diptych, inscribed with Lombardic capitals. The tapestry is powdered with letters **M**, crowned. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend: *Wynton fu'dator.*

No. 8. *Aaro'* is written on the pedestal. The lower part of the tapestry is powdered with letters **A**, crowned, and the following portion of the founder's legend crosses the pedestal: *istius collegii*;—but the feet only of the figure belong to the high priest; the rest belongs to a prophet, part of another window, who appears to be Nahum, from the corresponding part of the tapestry being powdered with letters **N**, crowned, and from the following inscription on the scroll held by the figure: *ecce sup' montes ew'ageliz'atis ann'catis.* (See Nahum i. 15.)

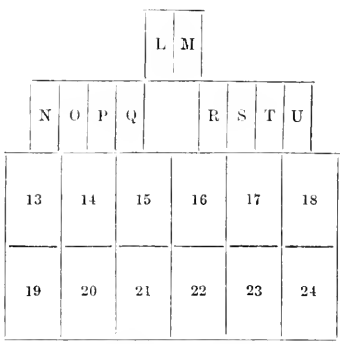
Each of the tracery lights, A to F inclusive, is filled with a canopy, under which is a winged figure habited in the civil dress of a king, *i. e.* crowned, holding a sword and sceptre, and clad in a tunic with short skirts, a furred tippet, hose, and shoes. *Dna: eio: nes* is written on a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with ornaments as in former windows.

THE TWO EAST WINDOWS OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

The arrangement of the subjects of these windows in their original order is a somewhat troublesome task, requiring a close attention to detail, and continual references to individual lights.



NORTHERN-EAST WINDOW.



SOUTHERN-EAST WINDOW.

It will be convenient to distinguish the windows by calling one

the Northern-East window, and the other the Southern-East window; and, with a view to render the following investigation more intelligible, I give diagrams of both windows, in which the lower lights are numbered, and the principal tracery lights lettered, in a consecutive series, commencing in the northern-east window.

No. 1 light. The glass in this light consists of portions of several designs. The upper part of the light is occupied with the head of a canopy, the spire background of which is red. From its fitting the light, and there being only three others like it in the building, I conclude that it belongs to one of the canopies containing a crucifix hereafter mentioned. Below is part of another canopy cut to fit the light, under which is placed the upper part of a female figure on a red tapestry background, powdered with letters **C**, crowned. This figure does not belong to either window. Below it is the central part of another figure, on a blue tapestry background, powdered with letters **E**, crowned; which likewise does not belong to either window. The remainder of the light is filled with the lower part of a canopy, which, as I shall have occasion to refer to it again, I shall describe minutely. The pedestal of this canopy differs in design from that of any of the canopies in either window, except the three which I shall presently mention. In particular, it is much more lofty, is hollow, and within it is the sitting figure of an aged man, supported on the top of a tall slender pedestal or shaft. A scroll passes through the pedestal of the canopy a little below the figure just mentioned, and at the same height from the sill of the light as that at which the pedestals of the canopies in Nos. 4, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24, hereafter described, are crossed by the founder's legend. The portion of the scroll in the present case is inscribed, *episc* ——. The lower part of the canopy niche remains; on its floor are three steps coloured green, surmounted by what is evidently the shaft of a cross coloured purple, on each side of which is a small portion of a white cloud; the rest of the subject is wanting. The inside of the niche has a blue tapestry ground, powdered with little yellow saltiers, or letters **X**.

No. 2. In the head of this light, and exactly fitting it, is the head of a canopy on a blue spire-ground, exactly like that first mentioned in No. 1. The rest of the glass, consisting of part of a canopy which has been cut to fit the light, half a female figure on a blue tapestry ground powdered with letters **C**, crowned, part of the hood of a canopy, and part of the base of another, inscribed *Mari* —— *Salome*, does not belong to either window.

No. 3. In the head of the light, and exactly fitting it, is the head of a canopy on a red spire-ground exactly like that first mentioned in No. 1. Below is part of a canopy which has been cut to fit the light. Under it is the upper half of a female figure (which does not appear to belong to the canopy), on a blue tapestry ground, powdered with letters **E**, crowned. Below are fragments of canopy-work made into a sort of pattern; and the residue of the light is occupied with the pedestal, and part of the niche of a canopy, which clearly was originally of the same design as that described in No. 1. The only difference is, that here the steps of the cross are coloured purple, the shafts green, and the tapestry ground red. The scroll running through the pedestal is made up of fragments of other scrolls.

No. 4. The whole of this light is occupied with a representation of a figure and canopy. The canopy, across whose pedestal is written the following portion of the founder's legend, *Istius collegii*, is, in other respects, exactly like that in No. 19 light. The figure is a duplicate of that in No. 24 light. Any further description of either is, therefore, postponed for the present.

No. 5. In the head of the light, and exactly fitting it, is the head of a canopy on a blue spire-ground exactly like that first mentioned in No. 1. Below is part of a canopy cut to fit the light, and the upper half of a female figure holding a palm-branch, on a red tapestry ground, powdered with letters **M**, crowned. A piece of yellow glass has been accidentally inserted in the nimbus of this figure, in such a manner as, at first sight, to impart to it a cruciferous appearance. The figure does not belong to either window. The remainder of the light is filled with a pedestal and part of a niche of a canopy, precisely similar to that described in No. 1. The steps of the cross are here green, the shaft is purple, the tapestry red, and on the scroll running through the pedestal is written *Wynton*.

No. 6. In the upper part of the light is the top of a canopy, of the same design as that in No. 4 light, having a red spire-ground. Below is part of the hood of a canopy, cut to fit the light, under which are fragments of a male saint (which do not belong to either window), on a blue tapestry ground, powdered with letters **B**, crowned. The remainder of the light is filled with the pedestal and part of the niche of a canopy similar to that described in No. 1. The steps of the cross are green, the shaft is pink, the clouds, as in all the other examples, are white; and seven of the toes of the Saviour are still attached to the shaft, leaving the nature of the design no longer in doubt. The

tapestry ground of the niche is blue, powdered with yellow letters X; and the scroll which passes through the pedestal is inscribed *fundatore.*

No. 7. This is a figure and canopy light. The canopy hood is supported by a semicircular niche arch; its spire background is blue, and the niche tapestry is red. Precisely similar canopies are inserted in Nos. 9 and 11, and in Nos. 13, 15, and 17 also. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Petru'*. The figure, which exhibits the tonsure, carries a book in one hand and keys in the other; it is clad in blue and white robes, the white being powdered with letters P, crowned, drawn in outline, and stained yellow.

No. 8. This is also a figure and canopy light. The canopy hood is double-headed; its spire-ground is coloured pink or warm purple, and the niche tapestry is blue, powdered with small yellow stars or suns rayonnés. Precisely similar canopies are inserted in Nos. 10, 12, 14, 16, and 18. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Andrea'*. The figure carries a small saltier.

No. 9. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Jacob'*. The figure holds a pilgrim's staff.

No. 10. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's J[ohan]'es.* The figure carries a cup, from which a dragon issues, and is clad in red and white robes, the white being powdered with small dragons issuing from cups, drawn in outline, and stained yellow.

No. 11 is inscribed *Sc's Thoma'*. The figure holds a spear in the left hand; the forefinger of the right is uplifted,—a movement which, coupled with the general attitude of the figure, seems to allude to the means whereby the Saint's incredulity was overcome.

No. 12 is inscribed *Sc's Jacob'*. The figure, which carries a scimitar, is clad in red and white garments, the white being powdered with small monsters, drawn in outline and stained yellow.

No. 13 is inscribed *Sc's Philippu'*.

No. 14 is inscribed *Sc's Bartole'm.* The figure carries a knife.

No. 15 is inscribed *Sc's Mathe'*.

No. 16 is inscribed *Sc's Simon.* The figure bears an axe.

No. 17 is inscribed *Sc's Mathia'*. The figure carries a club.

No. 18 is inscribed *Sc's Judas.*

No. 19. The canopy in this light differs in design from any of those already described, though its hood is as long as those in No. 7 and the following lights. The pedestal is crossed with the founder's legend, at the same level as the pedestal in No. 1, &c. The spire background is red, and the tapestry blue. The figure

under the canopy is, from the sorrowful expression of the countenance, evidently a representation of the Mater Dolorosa: the left hand is pressed against the head; in the other is a book. The figure looks towards its left. There is no other inscription except the following portion of the founder's legend, *Orate p Willo*, which, as before mentioned, crosses the pedestal of the canopy.

No. 20. The canopy is of the same design as the last, but its spire background is coloured blue, and its tapestry is red, powdered with letters M, crowned. The figure is evidently a representation of the Mater Dolorosa. The hands are clasped together; the figure looks to its left. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend: *Fundatore.*

No. 21. The canopy is of the same design as No. 19, and has a red spire-ground. The tapestry is blue, but is powdered with yellow crosses. The figure, which looks to its right, is evidently a representation of St. John the Evangelist. The right hand is pressed against the head, but the countenance is not particularly sorrowful. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend: *Episcopo.*

No. 22. The canopy is of the same design as No. 19. The spire background is blue, and the tapestry is red, powdered with letters M, crowned. The figure is an exact duplicate of that in No. 20. The portion of the founder's legend is, *Wynton.*

No. 23. The canopy is of the same design as the last, but the spire-ground is red and the tapestry blue, powdered with yellow crosses. The figure is a perfect duplicate of that in No. 21. The portion of the founder's legend is, *de Wykeham.*

No. 24. The canopy is of the same design as No. 19, but the spire-ground is blue, and the tapestry is red, powdered with letters I, crowned. The figure, which, as before mentioned, is an exact duplicate of that in No. 4, is evidently a representation of St. John the Evangelist. The countenance is sorrowful; the right hand is pressed against the head, in the other is a book. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend: *istius collegii.*

TRACERY LIGHTS.

A is occupied with the representation, under a small canopy, of a Bishop on his knees, in apparent adoration of the figure in B, which, though mutilated, may be easily recognised as that of our Saviour, seated, and exhibiting the wound in his side to the kneeling Bishop, which, I apprehend, personifies William of

Wykeham. This figure is likewise under a canopy. An angel under a canopy is inserted in each of the lights C to K inclusive. The smaller tracery lights are filled with monsters or other ornaments.

The Coronation of the Virgin is represented in L and M, but the subjects have been transposed, the figure of Christ now occupying L, and that of the Virgin M. Each figure is under a canopy. An angel, in female attire, under a canopy, occupies each of the lights N to V, inclusive. The smaller tracery lights are filled with monsters or other ornaments.

Having described the subjects in these windows, I proceed in the next place to state my reasons for supposing that they were originally arranged as I have mentioned.

One remarkable feature is, that the pedestal of no canopy in the lights Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 is crossed by any continuous scroll, and that the pedestals of the canopies in Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 are so crossed; the scroll being, as before mentioned, inscribed with the founder's legend. This circumstance, when considered with reference to the design and arrangement of the glass in the other windows of the building—the contents of one of the west and of the two north windows of the antechapel have already been described—raises a strong inference that the glass in the first-mentioned series of lights originally occupied an upper tier of lights, and that the glass in the series of lights secondly mentioned originally occupied a lower tier of lights. That such lights are the lights of these two windows is evident from the fact of their being the narrowest lights in the building, and that the glass exactly fits them.

Let us, then, re-arrange the glass upon this supposition, and put in No. 1 light what is now in No. 7 light; in No. 2 what is now in No. 8; in No. 3 what is now in No. 9; in No. 4 what is now in No. 10; in No. 5 what is now in No. 11; in No. 6 what is now in No. 12; leaving the glass in Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 as it now is; and we shall find the Apostles arranged in a not uncommon order,[1] and a perfect alternation preserved in the forms of the canopies, and in the colouring of the designs, throughout the upper tier of lights. Let us now put in No. 7

[1] It is possible that Nos. 15 and 17 are transposed. If St. Matthias were to take the place of St. Matthew, which there is nothing in the order of the canopy design or colouring to prevent, the apostles would be arranged as at Fairford church, Gloucestershire, with the single exception that there St. Matthew precedes St. Jude.

light the glass which is in No. 20 light; in No. 8 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 1, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 1; in No. 9 what is now in No. 4; in No. 11 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 2, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 5; in No. 12 what is now in No. 23; in No. 20 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 5, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 3; and in No. 23 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 3, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 6; leaving No. 10 blank, and the glass in Nos. 19, 21, 22, and 24 as it now is; and we shall find, supposing the missing subject of No. 10 light to have been a duplicate of that in No. 19,[1] and that the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 6 belonged to it, that not only will a perfect alternation in the forms of the canopies and the colouring of the subjects be preserved throughout the east windows, in the one whether regarded in a horizontal or in a perpendicular direction,[2] in the other when regarded in a horizontal direction—and it is obvious that a double alternation might, by a different arrangement, be produced in this as well as in the former window—but that the attitudes of the figures will correspond with the arrangement of the subjects. Thus, the Virgin and St. John, if placed according to the new arrangement in the lights Nos. 7 and 9, would be turned towards the crucifix in No. 8; the Virgin in No. 10 light (which I have supplied by copying the figure in No. 19), and the St. John put in No. 12 light, would be turned towards

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[1] It is by no means an uncommon occurrence to find in ancient glass the same figures repeated in different or even the same windows of the same building. I know of an instance as early as the latter part of the twelfth century.

[2] This alternation of design and colour is observable in many early Perpendicular windows. The following diagram may serve to explain my meaning. Let the letters arranged in a square represent four figures and canopies: and let canopies A and B each have a red spire-ground, and blue niche tapestry; and canopies C and D each have a blue spire-ground, and red niche tapestry. It will follow that the masses of colour, when regarded horizontally, will alternate thus:—the red spire-ground of A with the blue spire-ground of C; the blue tapestry of A with the red tapestry of C; the red spire-ground of B with the blue spire-ground of D; the blue tapestry of B with the red tapestry of D. And when regarded vertically, the masses of colour will alternate thus:—the red spire-ground of A with the blue tapestry of A, this again with the red spire-ground of B, and this again with the blue tapestry of B; and so, the blue spire-ground of C with the red tapestry of C, this with the blue spire-ground of D, and this with the red tapestry of D. Of course, if the canopies A and D are of one design, and B and C of another, their different patterns will likewise alternate. To put precisely the same case as that in the text, the canopies must be supposed to be of four different patterns.

A	C
B	D

the crucifix in No. 11 light; and the Virgins in Nos. 19 and 22, and the St. Johns in Nos. 21 and 24, would be turned, respectively, towards the crucifixes in Nos. 20 and 23 lights.

It is true that the portions of the founder's legend attached to the glass now in Nos. 1, 4, 5, 20, and 23 lights, will not make sense under the new arrangement of the subjects, but this circumstance is entitled to no weight. The inscriptions on the pedestals of Nos. 1 and 5 have evidently been made up of fragments, and there is no reason why we should not suppose that those on the pedestals of Nos. 4, 20, and 23 have likewise been supplied in the course of repairs. For it is impossible by any arrangement of the subjects to bring the word written on the pedestal of No. 20 into its proper place in the legend, or to arrange matters so as to make both parts of the legend attached to the pedestals of Nos. 4 and 23 fall into the inscription; one part or the other must be rejected as an insertion. On the other hand, the parts of the legend attached to the pedestals now in the lights Nos. 6, 19, 21, 22, and 24 will be found to read correctly on the suggested re-arrangement of the subjects. The pedestal in No. 3 light is, as before mentioned, at present without any legend at all.

It is unnecessary to speculate on the reasons which may have led to the fourfold repetition of the Crucifixion in the lower part of these windows; but lest this repetition should appear unfavourable to the view I take of the original arrangement of the glass, I will add that no subject is more commonly represented in a window above an altar than the Crucifixion, and that it is by no means improbable that four altars, two under each window, were placed against the east wall of the transept, or antechapel, although no trace of them may now exist.

SOUTH WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

This is a figure and canopy window like the windows on the north side.

No. 1 light. *Sc's* . . . . . is written across the pedestal of the canopy. The figure is that of a Bishop. The tapestry of the niche is powdered with the letters P, crowned.

No. 2. *Sc's Pelagius* is written across the pedestal of the canopy. The figure is that of a Pope, having a tiara encircled with only one coronet. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters P, crowned.

No. 3. *Sc's Alphegus* is written across the pedestal. The

figure is that of an Archbishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **A**, crowned.

No. 4. *Sc's Gemreta* is written across the pedestal. The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **G**, crowned.

No. 5. *Sc's Athanasius* is written on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following portion of the founder's legend:—*Orate p Willo.* The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **A**, crowned.

No. 6. *Sc's* [*Barn*]*ard'* is written on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following portion of the founder's legend:—*Wynton fu'd*[*atore*]. The figure is habited as a monk, in a russet dress. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **B**, crowned.

No. 7. *Sc's* —— appears on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following part of the founder's legend:—*Wynton fu'dator.* The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **H**, crowned.

No. 8. *Sc's Anselmus* is written on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following part of the founder's legend:—*Wykeham*, turned the wrong side upwards. The figure is that of an aged man, wearing a green cap, gloves, an alb, and a russet mantle over it. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **S** and letters **A**, crowned.

The tracery lights of this window, A to F inclusive, are each filled with a canopy, under which stands an angel. *Cherubim* is written upon a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with foliage and monsters.

SOUTHERNMOST WEST WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

This is likewise a figure and canopy window.

No. 1 light. On the pedestal is written *Maria Egipc'aca.* The figure is that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **M**, crowned.

No. 2. *Sc'a Martha* is written on the pedestal. The figure is that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **M**, crowned.

No. 3. This light is a good deal mutilated. The pedestal is inscribed *Maria Jacobi,* and the lower part of the niche tapestry is powdered with letters **M**, crowned. But the figure itself is that of a prophet, holding a scroll like the figures in the north windows, inscribed *visitabo oves meas & liberabo ea*[*s*]. (See Ezekiel

xxxiv. 12.) The remainder of the niche tapestry is powdered with letters **E**, crowned.

No. 4. This light is also much mutilated. The upper part of the figure is that of a Queen, and the niche tapestry is powdered with letters **W**, crowned. The lower part of the figure belongs to a different subject. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Cuthbert'*, and is crossed by the following part of the founder's legend—*Orate v Willmo;* from which I conclude that this part of the design belonged originally to a lower tier light of some window.

No. 5. *Sc's* —— is written on the pedestal. The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **B**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

No. 6. *Sc's Bri* . . . . . is written on the pedestal. The figure is, however, that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **C** and letters **B**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

No. 7. The figure is that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **E**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

No. 8. The figure is that of a Queen. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **E**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

The tracery lights of this window, A to F inclusive, are each filled with a canopy, under which stands an angel. *Seraphim* is written upon a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with foliage and monsters, as in the other windows.

The present seems the most convenient place for offering a few remarks on the date, style, and general effect of the oldest or original glazing of the chapel.

In the absence of any direct information, we can arrive only at an approximation to the date of this glass. That it was erected in Wykeham's lifetime may be inferred, if not even from the style of the legend which runs across the windows, and contains the expression "Orate *pro Willelmo* de Wykeham," at least from the fact of New College having been the first of Wykeham's three great works, and the silence of his will respecting its fabric; a will which, as is well known, contains minute directions for the glazing of a part of Winchester Cathedral. Indeed, the somewhat earlier character of the glass as compared with the windows of Winchester College Chapel, which have been copied faithfully, as it would seem, from the

original glazing of that edifice, would justify the supposition that it was erected before the commencement of Winchester College, in 1387. On the whole, I think we shall not be far wrong in concluding that the windows of New College were glazed between the founding of the establishment in 1379, and its being taken possession of by the first warden and fellows in 1386, at which time we have reason to believe that the Chapel and Hall were completed, and, if so, that the windows were glazed, for it is true, as a general rule, that in mediæval times the glaziers commenced operations as soon as any part of a building was ready to receive the glass.

The glass, though Perpendicular in its general character, and therefore to be regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, exponent of that style, displays, as might be expected, many Decorated features, as in the design of some of the canopies, especially as exemplified in the square tower over the niche arch, from which the spire of the canopy rises; and even in the pedestals used in the lower tier of lights, which, with the small rayonnated sun on each side, bear considerable resemblance to the pedestals of the early Decorated canopies in the Lady Chapel windows of Wells Cathedral—in the coloured moulding sometimes occurring under the battlements of the tower—in the coloured windows of the spire—in the pot-metal yellow finials occasionally employed—in the shape of the crockets—in the use of flesh-coloured glass to represent the nude parts of several of the principal figures—in the white hair and beards, leaded into pink faces, &c. Yet these, and many other Decorated features, which a practised eye will not fail to detect, are, as it were, merged in the general character of the later style, which displays itself in the broad colouring of the windows,—in the general flatness of the composition, which, by the way, is more remarkable in the north, south, and west windows of the antechapel than in the east windows, where the canopy spires are cut out and surrounded with colour more completely, a circumstance which once induced me to think that these canopies were of earlier date than the rest,—in the preponderance of white and yellow stained glass over the pot-metal colours,—and, though in a less prominent degree, in the attitudes and draperies of most of the figures, particularly those in the north, south, and west windows—in the drawing, especially of the heads—in the thinness of the black outlines—in the general softness and delicacy of the execution, &c. Smear-shading is occasionally used in the canopy-work, but the shadows are generally executed, if I mistake

not, in "Smear-shading stippled," an invention of the early part of the fourteenth century, and which differs from "Stipple-shading" (the mode commonly adopted in the fifteenth century) in this, that the lights are left clear in the first instance, instead of being picked out of a stippled ground of Enamel Brown, spread uniformly over the glass. The granulation and depth of the shading are perhaps best shown in the white robe of Eve in the northernmost west window; but, even in this instance, the shadow is not very coarsely stippled, nor can it be called deep even in its deepest part. There is no instance, in any of the windows, of the practice, adopted with such effect in later times, of making the accidental varieties of depth common in a sheet of coloured glass correspond in position with the lights and shades of the picture; and, though many parts of the composition are strongly contrasted in colour to others, yet this is not sufficient to supply the want of deeper shadows and more decided outlines, and secure the distinctness of the design, or save the painting from the imputation of being little else than a congeries of flat spots of white and coloured glass.

When, in addition to this defect, the imperfection of the figure drawing[1] and want of proper perspective in the canopies are brought to mind, we are tempted to inquire what is it that renders these windows so beautiful, so infinitely more agreeable than those of modern times. It cannot be their discoloration, for modern windows that have been as much discoloured fail to please. The secret lies in the fine tone and harmony of their colouring; and, perhaps I may venture to add, in its perfect keeping with the architectural character of the building. There is not a harsh or discordant hue anywhere. The whole colouring

[1] Should it be objected that most of these figures possess a certain degree of sublimity, I would respectfully warn my readers of the danger there is of engendering a false taste by recurring to such models for sublimity. Nothing is more true than that from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. What can be more absurd, for instance, than the mode of representing the Passage of the Red Sea by a capering figure betwixt two cauliflowers; or the Plagues of Egypt by so many carcases, frogs and fish, &c., sprawling in a plate—as in the late M. Gérente's window at Ely; or the Raising of Lazarus, by a mummy jumping up like Jack-in-the-box; or Samson slaying the Lion, by a clown who, with much grimace and affected violence, caresses the royal beast—as in his brother's windows at Christ Church, Oxford, and the late Exhibition; or, I may add, than the cat's-eyed saints of Messrs. Pugin and Hardman? Enthusiastic amateurs should recollect that they tolerate such things at the risk of being laughed at by the very persons they employ. Work of this description is even now nick-named, in derision, *bogie-work* by the glaziers' men. If sublimity is aimed at, we may be sure it will not be reached simply by rectifying the more palpable anatomical faults of the mediæval artists.

is equally quiet and subdued, and is in entire agreement with the silvery grey of the white glass. It is without doubt to the excellent tone of the latter material that this satisfactory result is owing. For this same white glass, which has no modern representative,[1] forms the base of all the coloured glasses, and

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[1] As I still meet with occasional assertions to the contrary, I think it is as well to repeat what I have constantly stated, that modern glass differs from old both in tone, colour, and texture, and this more widely in proportion to the difference of date; the nearest resemblance, though by no means an exact one, being between modern glass and that of the sixteenth century, and the greateat difference being between it and the glass of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; and further, that the attempts hitherto made to disguise this difference have completely failed. I am able to make this assertion more positively, since it is borne out by certain chemical experiments which I have caused to be instituted during the last two years, the result of which I hope, ere long, to make known through the medium of this Journal. I, of course, should not be expected to notice any opinion of the writers in the 'Ecclesiologist' on a subject of this kind; nor should I now allude to them, if it were not to guard those who may be as inexperienced or as careless observers as themselves from the danger of being misled by the misrepresentation of a matter of fact which occurs in the following passage: — "Mr. Winston reminds us that 'no cleaning is able to deprive ancient glass, of a certain date, of its tone, richness, and general appearance.' This we entirely deny. The east window of Bristol, *which is of middle-pointed date*, has been lately cleaned, and it is neither better nor worse than Messrs. Wailes, or O'Connor, or Willement would produce. *Rich* is just what it is not," &c. &c. It unfortunately happens that about two-thirds of the Bristol window consists of modern glass. But the appeal to it is not useless, as it serves to show that an ability to distinguish modern from ancient glass is not a necessary qualification for an adept in the mysteries of ecclesiology. Of the various expedients resorted to for imitating the effect of the ancient material, Messrs. Powell's and Messrs. Hartley's processes for roughening the surfaces of the glass are the most successful, though but expedients after all. "Antiquating the glass," *i. e.* dulling it with enamel colour in imitation of dirt and the rust of age, is commonly resorted to as a means of destroying the perfect pellucidness of the modern material: a quality resulting from refinements in the manufacture. Instead, however, of making the glass look thick and rich like the old, it only makes it dull and heavy in effect: nor does it materially improve its tone of colour. Of three imitations of ancient glass in the late Exhibition, which I particularly examined, one by M. Lusson, which had been the most antiquated, was the least watery in effect. The second, by M. Gérente, which also had been antiquated, though in a less degree, was, in proportion, more flimsy. The last, by Messrs. Pugin and Hardman, which had not been antiquated at all, was the most flimsy and watery. But they were all inferior to ancient glass in richness, depth, and particularly in tone of colour; as was indeed easily shown by holding clear pieces of ancient glass beside them. M. Lusson's, on the whole, was decidedly the best imitation, but this was not owing to the greater antiquating of the glass. I am surprised that the eyes of the public are not yet open to the absurdity of literally copying designs of an early period in a material so different from that in which such designs were originally worked, and with reference to which we may suppose they were made. We might as well expect a literal copy, in wood, of a stone spire, or of a wooden spire in stone, to produce a satisfactory effect.

consequently imparts to them its own hue; of the actual depth and greenness of which we are not aware so long as the white is intermixed with cool blues, reds, purples, and apparently though not really faded greens, as in the antechapel windows; but which surprises us when fully brought out by contrast with a warmer scale of colouring, as will hereafter be shown to be done in some of the south windows of the nave. Without expecting a ready acquiescence in the opinion hazarded, that a part of the pleasure excited by the colouring of these windows arises from a perception of its harmony with the architectural character of the building, I cannot but think that the idea is less fanciful than may at first appear. There is a gloominess in the style of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture which is very much opposed, not indeed to rich, but to warm and gay colouring. And though this gloominess in the present instance is, to a certain extent, disguised by the elegance of the modern fittings, and the warmth of the yellow wash with which the walls of the antechapel and choir are covered, it still exists, and grows upon the eye in proportion as the building is contemplated; and the more fully the gloominess of the architecture is perceived, the less striking does the cold colouring of the antechapel windows appear, until at last it seems more appropriate to the place than the warmer and gayer colouring of the windows of the choir.

I now proceed to give a short account of the glass in the choir windows, beginning with the first window from the east, on the south side.

The tradition is, that all the glass in the south windows is Flemish, and the work of Rubens' scholars.[1] But this does not appear to be altogether correct. A great many of the figures in the lower lights are, it is true, the work of foreign artists, and, in the absence of any certain information, I am inclined to think of the Flemish school, in the latter part of the sixteenth, or early part of the seventeenth century. But the whole of the canopy-work, which is evidently copied from glass of similar design to that in the antechapel, is, except those portions of it that actually are of Wykeham's time, of comparatively a recent date; at which period the rest of the large figures appear to have been painted, some of the old ones supplied with heads,

[1] Gutch, in a note to Wood's 'History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford,' p. 199, says the windows on the south side of the chapel were originally Flemish, done, as is reported, from designs given by some scholars of Rubens, and were purchased, by the society, of Wm. Price, who repaired them in 1740.

and almost the whole of the old glass, not only the Flemish, but the remains of the original glazing in the tracery lights, as well as in the lower lights, retouched. Coupling these facts with the inscription at the bottom of the last window from the east, which records the fact that W. Price repaired these windows in 1740, I can come to no other conclusion than that the greater part of the glazing is the work of Price, who adapted the Flemish figures to the lights.

THE FIRST SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

All the figures in the lower lights of this window appear to have been painted by Price. Some represent Bishops, Archbishops, and a Pope, but no names are given. Some are canonised saints. Five of the crozier-heads, and a great part of the canopy-hoods,[1] are of the same date as the ancient glass in the antechapel. The glass of which these remains are composed, which in the antechapel would seem to be white, here appears to be a positive dark green, from contrast with the warm colours that surround it, and particularly from its being opposed to the warm grey or light sky-blue used as a spire-back to the canopies. The founder's legend, in modern glass, is carried along the bottom of this, as well as of the other south windows.

The execution of the painting is very heavy. There are scarcely any clear lights.[2] The shadows are not stippled, but

[1] It is not easy to conceive what motive could have induced Price to work up any part of the ancient materials. In reshading the old canopy-hoods, so as to make them harmonize with the powerfully-shaded figures beneath, he has however shown himself a better artist than the majority of the modern imitators of ancient glass, who seldom scruple to clap a deeply-shaded figure below, it cannot be said *beneath*, a canopy as flat in effect as the material on which it is painted actually is. This defect might be observed in many of the specimens in the late Exhibition. It seems to result from a habit of copying the figures from ancient MSS., and the canopies from ancient painted glass. For if both were alike copied from old windows, our imitators could hardly fail to observe that the mediæval artists, as in the windows of the antechapel, were wont to make both figures and canopies equally, or almost equally, flat. After all, the fault rests with the amateurs, without whose countenance such extravagances could not be committed.

[2] It is difficult, no doubt, to prescribe the extent to which, in painting glass, the material may be obscured, or the high lights subdued with enamel colour, without violating the fundamental conditions of this branch of art: and I would recommend any one, who really feels an interest in the subject, to suspend his judgment until he has had an opportunity of actually examining and comparing a variety of painted windows. Without, however, attempting to lay down any rule, I think I may venture to say, that if a picture in painted glass appears to be, on the

hatched, as in an oil-painting; and, besides being always muddy, are frequently too deep. The shade of the interior of the canopy niche is absolutely black. The colouring is in general raw. The blue is of an unpleasant purple hue, but the ruby, as is not uncommonly the case in Price's works, is as scarlet as that of the fifteenth century, but of a rawer tone, through being made on a purer white base. Enamel blue is employed in some of the draperies and smaller ornaments, and a red enamel, like china-red, for the flesh-colour, but in general pot-metal colours are used. It is to this circumstance principally that the superior effect of the south, as compared with the north windows of the nave, is owing.

The tracery lights are of the same design as those of the ante-chapel windows. A figure and canopy occupies each from A to F inclusive, and various ornaments the smaller lights. The figures are of Price's time, but parts of the original glazing occur in the canopies, and in the smaller lights. The word *cherubyn*, at the bottom of the canopies A and B, is in each instance on an ancient piece of glass.

THE SECOND SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

I am inclined to think that all the figures in the lower lights of this window, and certainly that all their heads, are Price's. A Bishop and a Cardinal are represented, as well as ordinary

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whole, as brilliant and transparent as an equal extent of plain glazing of the same date as itself, we may be sure that the obscuration of the material has not been carried too far; and if, in addition, when considered with reference to its design, it betrays no incompleteness of effect, we may be satisfied that the obscuration of the material has been carried quite far enough, a standard which by no means excludes all but picture glass-paintings executed in an absolutely flat manner; since it is completely attained by any good specimen of the period between 1530 and 1540, though adequately representing canopy-work, or even the interior of a building, as by the flattest Gothic picture: whilst many a modern glass-painting, of the flattest possible design, such as an ornamental pattern, will be found to fall below it. It equally condemns, on the one hand, the opinion of most modern artists, that a glass-painting ought to be a dull transparency—as exemplified, for instance, in the windows of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris; and, as may be recollected, in the majority of the works sent to the late Exhibition;—on the other hand, the abortive attempts of modern imitators of old glass to represent canopy-hoods, and other projecting work, landscapes, &c., without the aid of shadows, linear or aërial perspective, as shown, on the whole perhaps most consistently, in the glass-paintings of Messrs. Pugin and Hardman; leaving, as a matter entirely irrespective of the question at issue, the choice whether of a flat, *but artistic*, or more rotund manner of representation, to be determined by the good taste of the artist and the nature of the subject.

saints, but no names are given. Three of the crozier-heads, and large portions of the canopy-work, are of Wykeham's time. The glass of which they are composed, as in the former window, looks perfectly green. The tracery lights are of the same general design as the last. A good deal of the canopy-work, &c., and the whole of one or two of the figures, which are simply angels, are original, as is the word *Dnaco'es*, which is written under each of the canopies A and B. The old blue tapestry-ground is retained in one of the lights. This appears quite cold and greenish in hue, on comparison with the glass in the lower lights.

THE THIRD SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

Price seems to have painted the figures in the upper tier of lower lights, at all events, if not some of those in the lower tier. He has retouched them all. Amongst them are represented Bishops, Patriarchs, and three female figures. One of the crozier-heads is of Wykeham's time, and there are some original pieces in the canopy-hoods. All the angels in the tracery lights are Price's work. There are fragments of the original glazing in the canopies and in the smaller lights, and the original inscription *Seraphyn* remains in the lights A and B. The figures are those of angels.

THE FOURTH SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The figures represented in the lower lights are a Pope, an Archbishop, St. John the Evangelist, another male saint, St. Catherine, and three female saints. The heads of three of the male figures are by Price, and St. Catherine's head is a copy of the head in light No. 5 of the next window; but, with these exceptions, the figures appear to be of Flemish workmanship.

Parts of the angels in the tracery lights are original, but have been retouched. The original inscription, *Troni*, appears in the lights A and B. Some of the blue niche tapestry is old, and appears very cold in comparison with the modern blue. The smaller tracery lights are original.

THE FIFTH SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

Amongst the figures represented in the lower lights are a Pope, two Kings, a Bishop, and three female saints, one of whom holds a cross, another a sword. These appear to be Flemish,

and are more artistical than Price's. The male heads are entirely free from that vulgar air which is so lamentable in his work; they are also less wrinkled, and more fleshy. The female heads are delicate and pleasing, but, like the male heads, have too much an air of *prettiness* to suit the character of a monumental work. In point of execution, the work resembles Price's: about the same proportion of enamel colouring is used, and the same mode of shading is adopted; but the shadows are more delicate than his, and the colouring of the draperies is better in tone. At the bottom of the light No. 8 is the inscription before referred to—*W. Price has fenestras reparavit, Ao. Dni.* 1740.

Most of the figures in the tracery lights (simple angels) are original, but have been retouched. The greater part of the canopy-work is also original; and the original inscription, *Principat'*, remains at the bottom of the lights A and B.

The north windows[1] will not require a detailed notice of any but the tracery lights, in which alone any part of the original glazing is preserved. It appears, from an inscription in the first window from the east, that the glass in the lower lights was painted by W. Peckitt, in 1765; and certainly one cannot but perceive how much the art of glass-painting had deteriorated since the days of Price. The general design is the same as that of the south windows. A figure under a canopy occupies each light; but the figures are poorly drawn, and the canopies are weakly designed, except the bases of those in the lower tier of lights, which, with the founder's legend that crosses them, are copied from the old ones in the antechapel. Their enamel blue spire-ground produces a flimsy effect, and the colouring of the windows generally is inferior to that of the south windows. Some pot-metal, and much enamel-coloured glass, is used in the draperies; as well as stained red, and some bad, heavy-tinted, streaky ruby, much resembling the ruby used by Peckitt in the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, which was painted by him in 1762. The shading is muddy, there are no clear lights, and the deep shadows are quite black. Our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the Twelve Apostles, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas, are represented

[1] The following account of these windows is given by Gutch, in a note to Wood, p. 199: "The windows on the north side, done by Mr. Peckitt, of York, in 1765 and 1774. The three nearest the screen contain in the lower range the chief persons recorded in the Old Testament, from Adam to Moses; in the upper, twelve of the prophets. Mr. Rebecca gave the designs for these. In the two other windows are our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apostles."

in the two first windows from the east; and a series of prophets, patriarchs, and worthies, ending with Adam and Eve, in the other windows. Under the figure of the Virgin, in the second window from the east, is the following coat:—*Argent, on a chevron, sable, three quatrefoils, or;* and on a scroll beneath is written, *Johannes Eyre, Arm., Hujus Hosp. Soc.*

TRACERY LIGHTS.—FIRST NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glass in these lights is original. A female figure holding a lamp, under a canopy, occupies each of the lights A to F inclusive. *Vir gines* is written across the base of each of the canopies A and B. In the smaller tracery lights are monsters, or foliaged ornaments, as in the antechapel windows.

SECOND NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glazing in the tracery lights of this window is also original. An angel under a canopy fills each of the lights A to F inclusive. At the foot of A and B respectively is written *Angeli.* The smaller lights are ornamented in the same way as those of the last window.

THIRD NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glazing of the tracery lights of this window is likewise original. An angel under a canopy is represented in each of the lights A to F inclusive; and at the foot of A and B respectively is written *Archangeli.* The smaller tracery lights are ornamented as before.

FOURTH NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glazing of the tracery lights of this window is also original. An angel completely armed in plate, or *cuir bouilli,* but bare-headed, holding a battle-axe in his left hand, and a spear, with a square pennon bearing a plain cross, in his right, under a canopy, is represented in the lights A to F inclusive. The following is written, one half in light A, the other half in light B: *Vir tutes.* By some mistake the halves have been transposed in the window.

FIFTH NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glass in the tracery lights of this window is also original. In each of the lights A to F inclusive, is a canopy, under which

is an angel, with legs and arms entirely enclosed in plate, or *cuir bouilli;* wearing a jupon and sword-belt, a tippet of ermine round his neck, and a sort of fur cap on his head. He holds a long baton in his left hand. In some of the examples the baton has a short spike at the top, like that usually represented at the butt end of a staff. At the bottom of lights A and B respectively is written *Potestates.*

In noticing the great west window of the antechapel,[1] it is not my intention to enlarge on its defects. These have been pithily summed up by a distinguished artist,[2] to whom I refer the reader. I fully admit their existence, and regard this work as a great misapplication of art. Its most unfortunate effect has been to produce an unfounded prejudice against the application of art to glass-painting, and occasion a revulsion of feeling among amateurs. Every one has felt the justice of Horace Walpole's sneer at the *washy* Virtues of Sir Joshua: but, it cannot be denied, on the opposite side, that the tendency of the present age to dispense with all artistic qualities in the pursuit of windows which shall display an abundance of strong and gaudy colouring, is an error leading to still more pernicious consequences. It is true that certain writers who follow the popular delusion[3] occasionally, and, to save appearances, talk about the necessity for a display of art in painted windows, but, on examining the examples they indicate as models, we perceive that a display of very low art indeed is sufficient to satisfy their demands. Leaving, then, these blind guides, let us recollect that, though our climate and habits may forbid the employment of fresco-painting to any great extent, yet that there exists in our windows as favourable a field for artistic development, though subject to different conditions, as in an equal breadth of wall; that ancient windows, except in the case of mere restorations, are worthy of being

[1] Gutch, in a note to Wood, p. 199, states that "for this work, which was begun about the year 1777, finished cartoons were furnished by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and then were copied by Mr. Jervais." I recollect seeing Sir Joshua's original sketch some years ago at the British Institution. It was richly coloured. The subject consists of the Adoration of the Shepherds, in the lights of the upper tier; with a single figure occupying each light of the lower tier, except the centre one, which contains a group representing Charity. A little green pot-metal glass is used in this group. The rest of the painting is executed with enamel colours and stains. Some of the lower figures have a pearly effect; but they are not sufficiently separated from the ground of the window, either by colour or by shadow.

[2] In the Winchester volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, "William of Wykeham," p. 30.

[3] See, amongst others, the 'Ecclesiologist,' and 'Morning Chronicle,' *passim.*

copied only so far as regards the composition and colour of their material; and that, so long as we are content to see produced year after year windows immeasurably inferior in all respects to the works of foreign artists (works, by the way, far from being perfect models themselves,—as, for instance, the window lately erected at Brussels Cathedral, by Capronnier; those at Cologne or Munich; or the specimens sent to the late Exhibition,[1] by Capronnier, Bertini, and others), so long may we expect in vain any improvement in the art to take place.

The painted glass in the Hall windows, of which there are three on the south and four on the north side—the hall running in the same line as the chapel—consists of coats of arms exclusively. The following shields are of the same date as the original glazing in the chapel.

In the third window from the east on the north side—*Argent, between two chevrons sable, three roses or.*—William of Wykeham. The shield is of the transitional character which prevailed on the confines of the Perpendicular style. The diaper closely resembles some ornament of similar date in the first window from the east, of the north chancel aisle, St. Thomas's Church, Salisbury. Each of the roses (which are turned the wrong side outwards) has a yellow centre, formed by grinding away the coloured surface of the ruby, here thin and smooth, and staining the white glass yellow. This is the earliest instance that I have yet met with of the practice.

Azure, a sword and key saltier wise, argent, in chief; a mitre of the second.—The ancient arms of the See of Winchester. See the seal of William of Waynflete, engraved in his Life by

[1] It is unfortunate that the opportunity so fairly offered of leading the public taste in a right direction by the award of the Fine Arts (No. XXX.) Jury, on the painted-glass in the late Exhibition, has been so completely thrown away. The worthlessness of the award must be evident to any one who really examined the specimens. It is, however, not singular that the work of Capronnier did not only receive no prize, but was not even considered worthy of mention, by judges who discovered so much merit in the works exhibited by Gérente, Pugin and Hardman, Howe, Wailes, and O'Connor. M. Bontemps, in his 'Examen historique et critique des Verres, Vitraux, Cristaux, composant la Classe XXIV. de l'Exposition universelle de 1851' (Weale), very naturally expresses himself at a loss to discover on what principle the prizes were adjusted. [See p. 41, note; see also p. 52, note.] Most of my readers are aware that M. Bontemps has had great experience in painted glass during upwards of thirty years, and that he was elected an assessor of the Jury XXIV. Section B of the above-mentioned pamphlet contains very just, though perhaps occasionally too good-natured criticisms on the glass-paintings that were exhibited.

Chandler. The same bearing occurs in one of the windows of the choir clearstory of Winchester Cathedral. This building is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, from whose emblems the coat is principally composed.

In the second window from the east, on the north side—*Argent, a cross gules.* St. George.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th. *Azure, semé de lis, or.*

2nd and 3rd. *Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale, or.*—King Richard II.

In the first window from the east, on the south side—*Gules, three crowns in pale, or.* This coat has been assigned to several imaginary personages, as, for instance, the King of Crekeland. The panel surrounding the shield is coeval with it. It is not improbable that the other shields were originally surrounded with similar panels, and that these were inserted in lights having ornamental borders, and a ground of ornamental quarries. The ruby of the field is thin and smooth on the sheet, as, indeed, is all that in the antechapel windows. The border of the panel is shaded with smear-shading, stippled.

The remaining coats are of the time of Henry VIII. Some are fine examples of the period.

In the first window from the east, on the south side—*Argent, on a chevron gules, between three pellets, a cock of the first. Over a fillet, vert, a chief of the first, charged with a double rose of the second, between two leopards' faces, azure.* The shield, which is within a wreath, is surmounted by a mitre.—John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln from 1520 to 1547.

In the second window from the east, on the south side—*Party per fess or, and gules; a demi-rose and demi-sun conjoined, counter-changed of the field. Issuant from the demi-rose is the neck of a double-headed eagle sable, and from each side of the rose issues an eagle's wing displayed, of the last.* The shield is within a wreath much mutilated. It was originally surmounted by a Cardinal's hat, of which only the strings remain. Wood declares that these arms were given by the Emperor Maximilian to William Knight, a Fellow of the College; Gutch adds, by letters patent, dated 20th July, 1514; and that he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1541. It is difficult to reconcile the existence of the Cardinal's hat with this statement, except on the supposition that it formed part of the original grant of arms.

Quarterly, 1st. *Argent, a pelican in a nest, feeding her young ones, vert.*

2nd and 3rd. *Argent, a lion rampant, vert.*

4th. *Argent, an eagle displayed, vert.*—Robert Sherburne, Bishop of Chichester from 1508 to 1536. The first quarter of the arms is much mutilated.

In the third window from the east, on the south side—The arms of Edward Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VI.), within a wreath, and surmounted by a coronet. The second and third quarters are lost.

Azure, on a cross, or, between four griffins' heads erased, argent, a rose gules. The shield is within a garter, and is surmounted by a mitre.—Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester from 1531 to 1550, and from 1553 to 1555.

In the fourth window from the east, on the north side—*Azure, an episcopal staff, or, surmounted by a pall argent, charged with four crosses paté fitché, sable: impaling gules, a fess, or; in chief, a goat's head argent; in base, three escallops of the last.*—William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1504 to 1532. The arms are within a wreath, and surmounted by a mitre.

The arms of King Henry VIII., supported by a red dragon and white greyhound.

The complicated charges and high finish of these coats, as well as the delicate texture of their material, contrast strongly with the more simple and more boldly executed shields of the time of Wykeham.

Other arms, mentioned by Wood in his 'History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford,' have disappeared.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

(From the Archæological Journal, vol. ix. p. 120.)

It has occurred to me, in reference to the memoir on the painted glass in New College Chapel and Hall, Oxford, that I may assist the researches of others by mentioning that there are eleven species of original canopies existing in the lower lights of the windows of the antechapel, and of the south windows of the choir; and by showing their present arrangement by the following diagrams, in which each species of canopy is indicated by Roman numerals. From these diagrams, and the foregoing paper, it will appear that the arrangement of the glass is more perfect, and most to be relied on as original, in the northernmost west window of the antechapel.

C. W.

Northernmost West Window of the Antechapel.

I	II	I	II
III	IV	III	IV.

First North Window of the Antechapel from the West.

I	II	III	II
III	V	V	V

Second North Window of the Antechapel from the West.

I	II	V	II
III	III	III	I

South Window of the Antechapel.

I	I	I	II
V	V	V	V

Southernmost of the Windows of the Antechapel.

V	V	I	II
VI	II	I	I

Northernmost East Window of the Antechapel.

X	X	X	IX	X	IX
V	VI	VI		I	V
X		X		X	X
VII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VII	VIII

Southernmost East Window of the Antechapel.

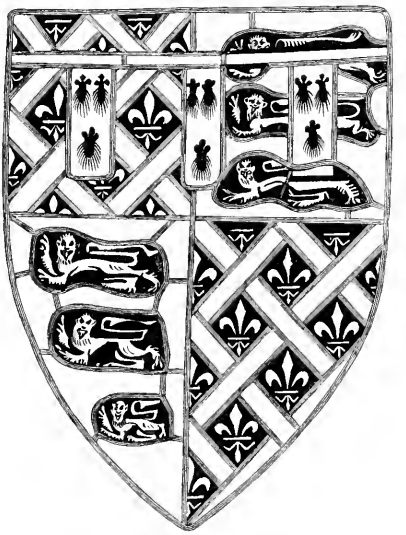
VII	VIII	VII	VIII	VII	VIII
IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	IV

First, Second, and Third South Windows of the Choir from the East.

IV	I	IV	I
II	XI	II	XI

Fourth and Fifth South Windows of the Choir from the East.

IV	I	IV	I
III	XI	III	XI



VI.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS AT BRISTOL, WELLS, GLOUCESTER, AND EXETER.

(From the volume of the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at Bristol, 1851.)

MY principal object in writing this Paper is to call attention to the remains of painted glass in Bristol Cathedral and the Mayor's Chapel; but as Wells, Gloucester, and Exeter Cathedrals are easy of access from Bristol, and contain many interesting specimens of painted glass, I have been induced to include in this sketch a short notice of the remains existing in those edifices, in the hope that it may prove useful to such persons as are inclined to pursue the subject further. I do not pretend to do more than call attention to these interesting specimens; to examine them at length would occupy too much time; and, I should add, that, not having visited Bristol and Exeter since 1849, Wells since 1848, and Gloucester since 1846, the remarks I am about to offer must be taken as applicable to the state of the glass at those periods respectively.

I propose to notice:—1st, the Bristol glass; 2ndly, the Wells; 3rdly, the Gloucester; and, lastly, the Exeter.

The first window that claims our attention is the east window of Bristol Cathedral. In 1847 it underwent a judicious restoration, in course of which the encrusted dirt was removed, which obscured the glass, and rendered the more delicate ornaments invisible, such as the diaper patterns in the arms and the border of the window. The ancient glass was scrupulously retained, and modern used only to supply actual deficiencies; so that *this* window has lost nothing of its interest by being restored.

A great deal of modern glass was necessarily employed in the lower lights, and in the three upright lights in the upper part of the window, the design of the modern glass being taken, as much as possible, from the original fragments now worked up in those lights, and from the slight sketch given of the window in Lyson's

'Gloucestershire.'[1] The remainder of the window, however, is filled with the original glazing. The old work, throughout, may be easily distinguished from the new, by the different texture of the glass.

The window represents a stem of Jesse. The lower lights contain figures of the Virgin and Infant Jesus, as well as prophets and kings; in several of which figures portions of the original glazing may be observed. Each figure is enclosed in an oval panel, formed by the ramifications of a vine branch. Some of the foliaged scrolls in the heads of the lower lights (which are principally original)[2] are remarkably graceful in design. The ancient ruby ground of the scrolls is enriched by the unusual addition of a diaper pattern. Diaper patterns, indeed, are used with remarkable profusion in this window, and, being executed with uncommon boldness, are exceedingly effective. The figures and scrolls again present themselves in the three upright lights in the upper part of the window, in the centre one of which is represented the crucified Saviour, and in the two others the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist; original parts of all these figures remain.

The design of the glass in the tracery lights is made to harmonise completely with that of the lower lights, by the introduction, by way of ornament, of scrolls of foliage into the principal openings. The heads of Prophets, or Patriarchs, are even inserted in the middle of eight of the smaller tracery lights: these heads are the only part of the design which cannot be easily made out from the floor of the choir. The *black letter* monogram, I H C, in one of the spandrels, should be noticed as being evidently an *insertion;* it is painted on later glass than the rest. In the upper tracery lights is a display of heraldry, of singular excellence, by the aid of which we may, perhaps, venture to refer the date of the glass to the latter part of the reign of Edward II.

The absence of Gaveston's arms from the window proves, I think, conclusively, that the glass was put up after the murder of that favourite in 1312; and the presence of the Earl of Hereford's arms appears to afford some evidence that the glass was put up before 1322, in which year Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, was slain in open rebellion against his sovereign. At all events, I think it clear that the glass was put up before the

[1] See Lyson's 'Gloucestershire,' plate xcii.

[2] One is given in Lyson's 'Gloucestershire,' plate xciii.

ascendancy of Mortimer, Queen Isabella's favourite; for not only are his arms omitted, but those of two of his victims are present: viz., of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who was put to death in 1326; and of Le Despencer, or Spencer, who also perished in the same year. The son, having married one of the sisters and eventual heiresses of the last Gilbert of Clare, who died in 1314, and having become Earl of Gloucester, will sufficiently account for the presence of the Clare coat.

The royal arms of England—the three lions on a red field—of course have allusion to the sovereign; and the fleurs-de-lis border to some of the lights may be well supposed to have reference to the French ancestry of Queen Isabella.

On the whole, I think, there is no objection to assigning the year 1320, or thereabouts, as the probable date of the glass in the east window.

The glass in the side windows of the choir will, I fear, require a somewhat more detailed description, on account of its mutilated and confused condition.

It will be convenient to mention, first, what I conceive to be the remains of the original glazing of these windows; and to begin with the second window from the east on the north side of the choir.

It is evident, I think, that the glass in the tracery lights, and in the pierced transom, as well as that composing the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian—in the three upper lights—belongs to the window; but I do not think that any of the original glazing of the three lower lights remains, except the canopy spires in the cuspidated heads of the two outer lights. The occurrence of the heraldic border of fleurs-de-lis and lions, in the tracery lights and both tiers of lower lights, certainly affords a strong ground for thinking that the glazing, which I have designated as original, formed part of one and the same window. It is easy, I think, to perceive what was the original design of the window when in a perfect state. The topmost tracery light, now devoid of painted glass, was no doubt ornamented in the same way as the two others. Each of the lower lights in both tiers contained a canopy; but whether the canopies in the lower tier of lights covered single figures only, or one group of figures, like the canopies in the upper tier of lights—as also whether, in either tier, the pictures reached down to the bottom of the light, or had some ornamental pattern beneath them—must remain pretty much a matter of conjecture. The group alluded to, in the upper tier of lights, will repay examination. The figure of

St. Sebastian, pierced with arrows, occupies the centre light. An archer, shooting at him with a bow, is conspicuous in the eastern light; and the head of a corresponding archer exists in the western light, but is so obscured with dirt as to be scarcely visible. Immediately below the figure of St. Sebastian is represented a regal person lying asleep, with a dog having one foot on his shoulder, and apparently licking his face with its tongue. This painting does not seem to have any connexion with the legend of St. Sebastian, and was probably brought into such close proximity to the Martyrdom in the course of repairs. Can it represent the "Story of the king who was rescued, by the fidelity of his dogs, from a sedition plotted by his courtiers;" to which story allusion is made, by Mr. Hudson Turner, at p. 262 of his recently published History of Domestic Architecture?

In the next window, the glass of the tracery lights is original; and so, I think, are the canopy spires in the two easternmost of the lights of the upper tier, and some, if not all, of the canopy spires which fill the cuspidated heads of the lights of the lower tier. The merchants' marks in the two quatrefoils, and the little ornaments in the spandrels under the transom, are undoubtedly in their original position. Of course, nothing further can be conjectured respecting the design of the window when perfect, than that the lower lights contained figures and canopies, with probably an heraldic panel beneath each canopy. It is reasonable to suppose that the donor of the window was a merchant.

The remains of original glazing in the first window from the east, on the south side, are even more scanty. None of it exists above the transom; but in the quatrefoils below the transom are two coats of arms, undoubtedly in their original situation, which may be the means, at some future time, of throwing considerable light on the question of date. One of the shields, that in the easternmost quatrefoil, displays, on a white field, a yellow chevron, on which three bucks' heads caboshed are depicted, in outline; and therefore are yellow also.[1] This apparently false heraldry is ascribable to the by no means uncommon practice, especially of the more ancient glass-painters, whenever they wished to save themselves trouble, of painting in simple outline upon the field, or ordinary, any charge which could only be properly represented by leading in a piece of glass of a different colour. Had not the field of the coat been *argent*, I should have

[1] It is engraved in Lyson's 'Gloucestershire,' plate xciii., fig. 7.

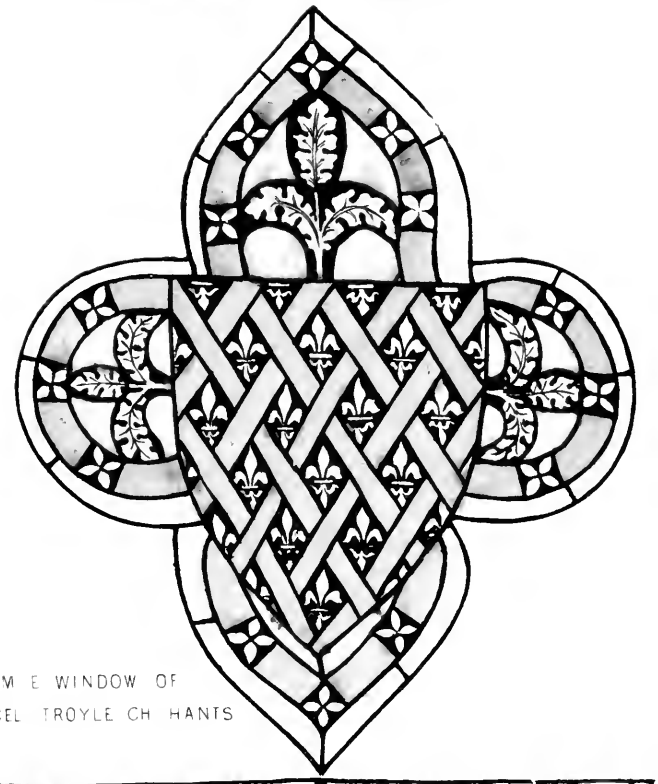
concluded that the chevron was properly coloured *or;* but in the present case the tincture, both of the chevron and its charges, is equally left in doubt. I have hitherto been unable to ascertain the ownership of this coat. Since writing these remarks, I have been referred to a Devon family, of the name of "Syrmington," or "Servington," whose coat—"ermine, on a chevron *sable* (sometimes *azure*), three bucks' heads caboshed, or"—affords a clue to the coat in question. The other shield displays, or, three eagles sable—impaling, or rather, *dimidiated with,* the first-named coat. It is possible that this is the coat of Rodney, the glass-painter, for convenience sake having represented the *purple* eagles of that coat with enamel brown. I have met with the bearing of Castile—*argent,* a lion rampant *purpure*—represented by a lion painted black, with enamel brown, on a white piece of glass. Whatever be the alliance thus indicated, it may, however, furnish a clue to the date and presentation of the window. The remaining glass belonging to the window is the canopy spires which fill the cuspidated heads of three of the lower lights.

The next window retains none of its original glazing.

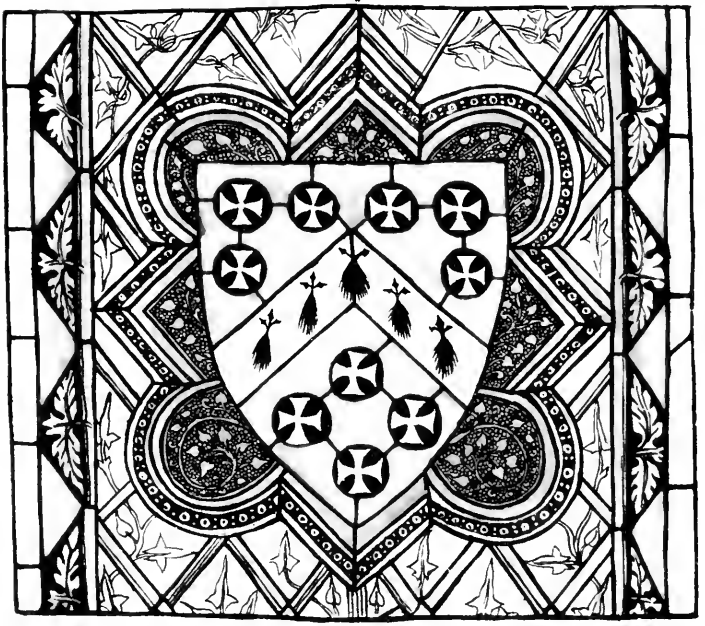
The interpolated glass next demands our attention. The most interesting portions of it are the figures of two knights—one displaying on his surcoat and shield a white cross on a red field; the other a red cross on a white field.[1] The first-mentioned figure, though divided, and part placed in each of the north windows, is, on the whole, in better preservation than the other, the only remaining portion of which, consisting of the legs and some part of the body, is preserved in one of the south windows—the first from the east. But as both figures have evidently been painted from the same cartoon, the missing parts of the one may readily be supplied from the other.

The figure in the north window, which alone I shall describe, is armed cap-à-pie, with a visored basinet and camail, legs and arms in plate, or rather cuir bouilli; and the body clad in that peculiar garment which appears to form the connecting link between the surcoat and the jupon, and is called a cyclas—having a square piece cut out in front, which exposes to view the mail and armour beneath. A shield suspended from the neck by a strap, and a lance with a triangular pennon, on which, as well as on the shield and cyclas, is represented the white cross on the red ground, completes the knight's appointments. The

[1] See the engraving, in Lyson's 'Gloucestershire,' plate xciv. Some mistake has been made in *colouring* this plate.



FROM E WINDOW OF
CHANCEL TROYLE CH HANTS



Charles Winston, del Philip Delamotte lithog. Vincent Brooks

N WINDOW CHOIR BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

whole of the canopy, under which the figure stands, may be collected from the four windows, amongst which its parts are distributed. There can be no doubt that, originally, a panel containing a shield intervened between the base of the canopy and the sill of the window. Such a panel, with the arms of one of the branches of the house of Berkeley, and having a border attached of the same pattern as that belonging to the knight's canopy, may be seen in the north window next the east. The fragments of two other figures—one a Pope, the other a Saint—having attached to their canopies a border of the same pattern as that attached to the knight's, are scattered about three of the choir windows. Thus, reckoning the knight, four subjects, evidently belonging to one and the same window, remain. It would be inconsistent with what has been said respecting the remains of original glazing in the two easternmost of the north and south windows, to suppose that these four subjects belonged originally to either of those windows. The only alternative is, to suppose that they originally belonged to some other windows; as, for instance, the second window from the east of the north aisle of the choir, the four lower lights of which exactly correspond in size and shape with the dimensions of the knight's canopy, and of such a panel as I have suggested as having been originally placed beneath it.

There are also, in the easternmost of the north windows of the choir, the remains of a knight, bearing the arms of Berkeley of Stratton depicted on his surcoat and square banner. This figure is larger than any of the four figures already mentioned, and is not at present connected with any canopy. Near it is another square banner, displaying one quartering of the Despencer coat—gules, a fret or; and also the remains of another knight. The arms prove, I think, that the glass never belonged to either the easternmost north or south window of the choir. It probably was removed from a window of the nave. The arms of Mortimer,[1] and many other interesting fragments collected in one of the north windows of the choir, seem in like manner to have been removed from other windows.

With regard to the date of the glass originally belonging to the side windows, I should not think that it differed from that already assigned to the glass of the east window, were it not for the heraldic borders of fleurs-de-lis and lions in the second win-

[1] These arms are engraved in Lyson's 'Gloucestershire,' in one of the plates already mentioned.

dow from the east, on the north side of the choir. A border of lions and fleurs-de-lis, though commoner in glass of Edward III.'s time, in this instance may have reference to Edward II. and his queen, Isabella of France. But, however this may be, there can be very little difference between the date of this glass and that of the east window.

With regard to the interpolated glass, I am inclined to think that it also is of the same date, or nearly so, as the glass in the east window. The border of yellow eagles displayed, on a green ground, now in the first window from the east on the south side, may certainly, from the agreement of its colouring with that of the coat of Gaveston—who bore three or more yellow eagles, on a green field—be supposed to allude to that favourite, and therefore to be earlier than 1312; but for this supposition I should not have considered it to be older than the rest of the glass. With regard to the knights with the white and red crosses—the opinion that they are impersonifications of the orders of the Hospitallers and Templars, would require the date of the glass to be put as early as 1307, when the Templars began to be persecuted in England; or, at least, as early as 1313, when the order was suppressed by the Pope: but so early a date can scarcely be reconciled with the use of the cyclas, and other peculiarities in the costume of these figures; and, judging only from the internal evidence supplied by the glass itself, I should not be more inclined to put these figures, than the eagle border, earlier than 1320. The costume of the figures would admit of a date as late as 1340.[1] It is therefore possible that these figures, like the fleurs-de-lis and lion border in the other window, may be of the commencement of the reign of Edward III.; but it is impossible to be positive on such a point.

The rest of the glass in the Cathedral need not detain us long. The oldest specimen undoubtedly is the small quantity of glass remaining in the tracery lights of the east window of the *elder* Lady Chapel, and which is as early as the end of the reign of Edward I. There are some Perpendicular fragments in their original position, in the west and south windows of the transept, the colouring of which is remarkably rich. The east windows of the choir aisles are both of the same date. It would appear from the arms in one of the windows, that they were the gift of Dean Glemham, in the reign of Charles II. The dulness of these windows, as compared with the older examples, is occa-

[1] See as late an instance of the use of the cyclas, in Lyson's 'Berks,' p. 424.

sioned by the mode of their execution; glass coloured with enamels being used, in accordance with the practice of the day, in preference to glass coloured in its manufacture.

MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL.

The glass in the Mayor's Chapel affords a means of contrasting the later styles of painted glass with the earlier styles in the Cathedral. The greater part of it was, I believe, brought from Mr. Beckford's house at Fonthill. Amongst other specimens of cinque-cento work, I may mention an excellent figure of St. Barbara, in the east window; and a companion figure, of St. Catharine, of inferior merit. These, as well as most of the specimens of cinque-cento, seem to be of Flemish workmanship. The scourging of Christ, in one of the north windows, is remarkable for the use made of "sprinkled ruby" to represent His lacerated body. In another of the side windows—the first from the west—is some late French ornamental work, exhibiting the cyphers, mottoes, and emblems of Henry II. of France, and Diana of Poictiers. Some of this glass is dated 1543.

In the west window of the south aisle of the chapel are some very good little German glass-paintings; one of which is dated 1537. These works, which, of course, were originally intended for close inspection, show that it is possible to combine a very high degree of finish with a full display of the brilliant and sparkling qualities of a glass-painting—a fact which modern glass-painters are too apt to overlook.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.

The windows of this edifice, eastward of the central tower, retain a large proportion of their original glazing. And the glass is well worthy of examination, on account of its perfect state, and the general goodness of its execution. Unfortunately there is no other heraldry to guide us, as to its date, except the borders of lions and fleurs-de-lis, or of lions, or fleurs-de-lis only, which occur in most of the windows.

An inscription in one of the windows of the Lady Chapel, which might have decided the question, has unluckily been obliterated in its most important part. The words "*Ista capella constructa est*" are all that now remain. (It occurs in the first window from the east, on the south side of the Lady Chapel.) We are therefore left to infer the probable date of the glass from the internal evidence derivable from the style of the painting,

the costumes, and texture of the material. And the conclusion that I have arrived at from these data is, that the Decorated glass at Wells is, as nearly as possible, contemporary with that of Bristol. Making allowance for a few years' difference in date between the various specimens at Wells, I think we may assign 1320, or thereabouts, as the date of the glazing.

The east window of the Lady Chapel has been restored—I wish I could add as conscientiously as the east window of Bristol has been; for the artist here has thought proper permanently to obscure the remains of the old glass, as well as the modern glass used in the restoration—a device which, whilst it fails to render the modern glass undistinguishable from the old, greatly impairs the general effect of the window by depriving it of brilliancy. However, as there can be no doubt that the old design has been adhered to in the restoration, the window in its present state shows at a glance, what the side windows show only on careful examination—that the lower lights of these windows were filled with two tiers of figures and canopies. The tracery lights of the east window are filled with angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. The topmost tracery light of three of the side apsidal windows contains the emblem of one of the Evangelists, the fourth emblem has evidently been lost: and the other lights of the window, on the north side next the east, contain heads of Patriarchs; and those of the opposite window the heads of ecclesiastical Saints. Some of these heads are very favourable specimens of the skill of the glass-painters of the period, and the idea of filling these small openings with busts, instead of entire figures, was happy. The same mode of filling the tracery lights is adopted in some of the other windows in the immediate vicinity of the Lady Chapel, which retain their original glazing. Amongst the busts are the heads of sainted Popes and Bishops, the names being written on labels behind.

The east window of the choir is of singular design. The lower lights are filled with a Stem of Jesse, terminating, as at Bristol, with our Saviour on the Cross; and the tracery lights with a representation of the Day of Judgment. Magnificent as is its colouring, the general effect of the window, owing to the too crowded character of the composition, is inferior to that of the east window of Bristol. It is impossible to distinguish the small figures in the Judgment, clearly, from the floor of the choir; and the insertion of canopies over the figures in the Jesse tends to confuse the design.

The clearstory windows, on each side of the choir, had origi-

nally a figure and canopy in each of their lower lights. One of the figures, in the north window next the east, represents St. George, clad in a surcoat which reaches to the knee. He wears a helmet, avant and rerebras, shin pieces and sollerets of plate, or rather cuir bouilli, the rest of his person is defended with mail, on his shoulders are aiglettes. The costume of this figure appears to harmonise with the date assigned to the glass. In the tracery lights of this window is a continuation of the Judgment in the east window.

The remains of glass in the Chapter House are but trifling. They seem, I think, to be of somewhat earlier date than the rest, but still are of the time of Edward II.

There are some early Perpendicular fragments in the windows of the nave and transept. Some of the figures have the visored basinet and camail, the jupon, and heavy sword belt.

In the west window of the nave is some cinque-cento glass, the more valuable as it happens to be a dated example. A Gascon inscription, as I believe, sets forth the year of grace 1507.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

The great attraction of Gloucester Cathedral is its magnificent east window, in many respects the finest in England. From the abundance of heraldry in the lower part of this window, I have little doubt that its date could be ascertained with considerable exactness; but the task of making out the charges on the shields has, owing to the dirty state of the glass, hitherto proved beyond my power. Though a decided enemy to Restorations, which in nine times out of ten would be more truly called Destructions, I confess I have often wished that this window had been placed in the hands of that real restorer, to whose tenderness and care the present satisfactory condition of the east window of Bristol is due.[1]

Under these circumstances, I can only hazard a conjecture that the probable date of the glass is very early in the second half of the fourteenth century. It is in all respects thoroughly Decorated in character, though the architecture of the window possesses Perpendicular features principally. But, as a general rule, it is true, that a change in the style of architecture has always preceded, by some years, the corresponding change in the style of painted glass.

[1] As to its subsequent restoration and date, see Memoir XIV.

The glazing of the window is in its original position, and there is no ground for supposing that the somewhat sudden termination of the colouring towards the top of the window is accidental. On the contrary, it is evident that the arrangement of the glass in the upper part of the window is according to the original design.

The two first tiers of lights from the ground are filled with coloured borders and ornamented white quarries, a shield of arms in a panel is inserted in each light, and a small ornamented roundel placed at some distance beneath it. The three next tiers of lights throughout the window are filled with figures and canopies, and, in the central part of the window, another tier likewise; the spires of this row of canopies running into the tier of lights above. This arrangement, as might be expected, imparts a grand pyramidical character to the whole design. All the tracery lights of the window are filled with ornamented white quarries, and enriched with small roundels of ornament inserted here and there.

The colouring of the lower lights—containing figures and canopies—is arranged on a principle not uncommon in Early Perpendicular glass. The figures are almost entirely white, having yellow stained hair, and borders to their robes: the architectural work of the canopies is wholly composed of white and yellow stained glass. The positive colouring is confined to the spire backgrounds of the canopies, and the tapestry which lines the interior of the niche. And it is carried in uniform streaks, or columns, down the window. Thus, the spire grounds and tapestries of the *central* column—which is two lights broad, all the other columns being only of the width of one light—are coloured red; those of the next column, on each side the centre one, are coloured blue; those of the next red—and so on. The large proportion of white used in the most coloured parts prevents any violent transition, from the figure and canopy part, to the quarry part of the window.

The full effect of the Gloucester window, no doubt, depends not only on the simplicity of the composition, the largeness of its parts, and the breadth of its colouring, but also on the excellence of the material of which the window is composed. Still, I know no window so likely as this to improve by long contemplation the taste of modern glass-painters, and their patrons.

The side windows of the choir clearstory retain enough of their original glazing—which is precisely of the same date as that of the east window—to enable us to perceive that their

lower tier of lights was filled with figures and canopies, and their upper tier and tracery lights with borders and quarry patterns, having small roundels of ornament inserted of the same character as the pattern work in the east window. A corroborative proof, if any were necessary, of the originality of the arrangement of the glass in the upper part of the east window, with which the arrangement of the glass in the side windows so perfectly harmonises.

There are very interesting remains of Early Perpendicular and Decorated glass in other windows of Gloucester Cathedral, to which I cannot further advert for want of time.

The east window of the Lady Chapel, which is in very fair preservation, is of the last half of the fifteenth century.

EXETER CATHEDRAL.

The foregoing list of fourteenth-century glass would not be complete without some notice of the remains in Exeter Cathedral. But this will not detain us long. Very little of the glass is in its original position. I have no doubt, judging from its style, the absence of the yellow stain, &c., that the greater portion is of the latter part of the reign of Edward I.; and the later glass seems early in the reign of Edward II. Britton, in his History of the Cathedral, mentions that about 500 feet of glass was bought in 1303-4; and that a large quantity was purchased in 1317, at Rouen. It is possible that some of this may be extant. I was much struck with the purity and hardness of the white glass composing even the earlier patterns; a feature which may likewise be remarked in the remains of Early Decorated glass at Westminster Abbey, and in Merton Chapel, Oxford. It is possible that this glass was obtained from a common source.

The most perfect window is the fourth from the east, on the north side of the choir clearstory. There is a great variety of very beautiful patterns, and many details of peculiar interest, in most of the choir windows, and the windows of the chapels about the choir. Several of these patterns have been so tastily touched up with colour in the last century—by Peckitt, I presume—as to be at first sight not a little puzzling. On the whole, the Exeter glass will be found to repay a visit.

The modern glass in the west window, and the ruby with which the old patterns have been retouched, is interesting; as being, perhaps, some of the latest ruby that was manufactured in England, before M. Bontemps revived the art. Some of the

bull's eyes of this ruby are inserted in the east window of the choir. The date of the west window, I have been informed, is 1766.

Such is the account I have attempted to give of these ancient relics. I have purposely omitted many curious details, from a fear of trespassing upon your time more unwarrantably than I have done already. Yet, imperfect as this sketch necessarily is, it will not be useless if it should incite but one person to a *real* study of the subject of painted glass. It is only by repeatedly looking at ancient glass that we learn to appreciate its peculiarities. It is by slow degrees that the eye becomes accustomed to its tone; still more slowly, may I add, is the mind convinced that all styles of painted glass have their excellences and their defects. In approaching a subject on which there can be no appeal to any generally recognised standard, we cannot be too much on our guard against being deceived by our prejudices. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the study of glass-painting; because it has, unfortunately, become associated with opinions with which it has only an accidental connexion. Like architecture, painted glass has been, I know not why, regarded as a subject of almost purely ecclesiastical interest, and hence has been exposed to much misapplied criticism; a great deal of which has reference not exclusively to glass-painting as such, nor to any mode of representation, and is founded rather on theological than artistic considerations.

Certain styles of painted glass, and of architecture, moreover, have been regarded as objectionable, or made the theme of enthusiastic admiration; not so much on account of their intrinsic defects or excellences, as from a dislike or predilection for certain views which are thought to be necessarily associated with such styles. For instance, we all know that by a certain class of writers, Palladian architecture, although so widely differing from the classical styles, and although it has been actually more universally employed for ecclesiastical purposes than the Gothic, is branded as "Pagan," and unholy; whilst Gothic architecture alone rejoices in the appellation of Christian architecture, and certain symbols of acknowledged Pagan origin, such as the crescent of the Virgin, by being associated with it, are, as we are told, "hallowed." In like manner, the cinque-cento style of painted glass is held up to scorn and reprobation as a "Paganism;" whilst that of the thirteenth century, "the age of faith," is considered to be truly Christian. It is not for me to inquire whether such epithets are properly or improperly applied, or whether

Christianity has deteriorated ever since the time when the spirit of ecclesiastical domination was curbed; but that the continued use of these, as well as of other nicknames, is intended to create a prejudice, and does, in fact, not unfrequently produce this result with unreflecting persons, is indisputable. The student of glass-painting must, however, be superior to such influences. He will find that all styles of ancient glass are equally worthy his attention; and, in particular, will not fail to perceive that, on comparing one with another, inferiority on one point is not unfrequently compensated by, if not the cause of, superiority on another; or, to be struck with the general consistency of convention practised in each style. For instance, the intense and sparkling colouring common to glass-paintings of the fourteenth century, is sought for in vain in a cinque-cento glass-painting; and the delicate execution of the cinque-cento is equally wanting in the earlier work; yet it is unquestionable that the delicate shading employed by the cinque-cento artists would, in great measure, be lost in the powerful colouring of a glass-painting of the fourteenth century; and it is certain that nothing would be more miserable in effect, than a work executed in the simple manner of the fourteenth century, upon the comparatively poor material of the sixteenth.[1]

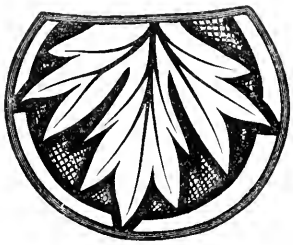
I am much mistaken if the lesson to be learnt from an unprejudiced examination of all styles of painted glass, will not tend to a belief that the modern system of copying or closely imitating old work is erroneous; not only on artistic principles, but considered as a means of merely reproducing their effect.

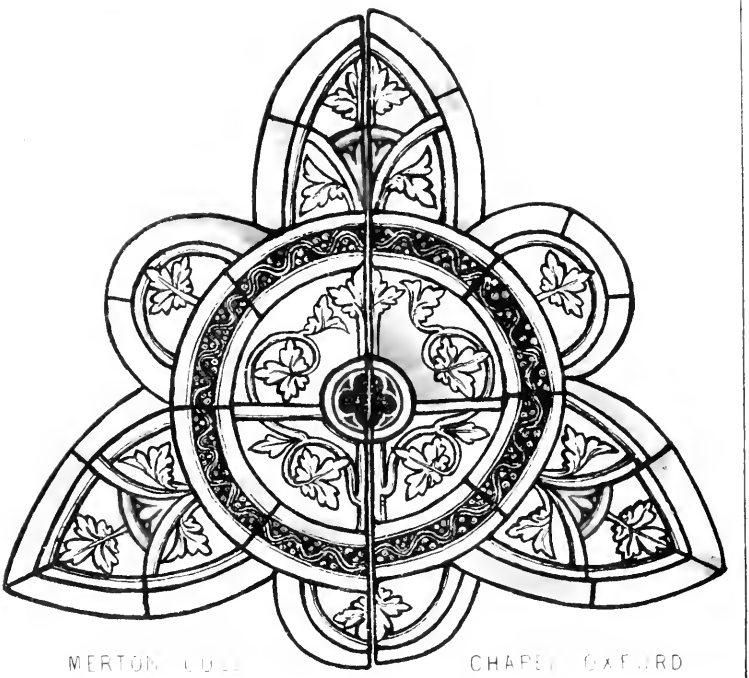
I am aware that certain writers, more distinguished, perhaps, for the flippancy of their remarks than the accuracy of their statements, deny the existence of any perceptible difference between the glass, for instance, of the fourteenth century and that used in imitation of it. But, as the existence of such difference is capable of easy proof, and as these self-styled "leaders of the movement" are, notwithstanding their pretensions, only following the lead of public opinion, I shall expect to find them asserting their belief in its existence, as soon as that belief becomes popular; as it must, if such examination of old glass as I have recommended be generally made. Believing, as I do, that although glass might easily be manufactured more harmonious in its tone than that now used, yet, that it will ever

[1] Messrs. Pugin and Hardman's imitations of thirteenth and fourteenth century glass most fully prove the correctness of the opinion stated in the text.

be a matter of extreme difficulty to reproduce the diaphanous, rich, or pearl-like material of the fourteenth and previous centuries: I confess I see no reason for abandoning or qualifying any of the views I have long since expressed, relating to the invention of a nineteenth century style of glass-painting, sufficiently plastic to mould itself into conformity with the character of edifices of different dates:[1] and, in the formation of which, ideas, especially as regards arrangement of colour, should be freely borrowed from those later styles in which a material was employed not dissimilar in character from that which can now, or will, in all likelihood, be obtained. Even if the time permitted, it would be premature, if not unnecessary, to enter into the details of the scheme more fully than I have done already on various occasions; since I am persuaded that, if the necessity of forming a new style is conceded, the mode of carrying it into effect will soon suggest itself. The opinion that a new style is necessary, to meet technical difficulties and the requirements of the age, is all that I seek to establish. The only indulgence I crave is, that the subject may be *thoroughly* investigated before that opinion is condemned.

[1] Since the above remarks were in type, some experiments, the results of which I stated in a paper read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, 14th June, 1852, have shown the possibility of making white and coloured glass equal in tone, and true to that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Still the necessity for a nineteenth-century style continues; although the discoveries alluded to will involve a modification of some of my previously expressed views as to what that style should be. (The memoir referred to is that which follows.)





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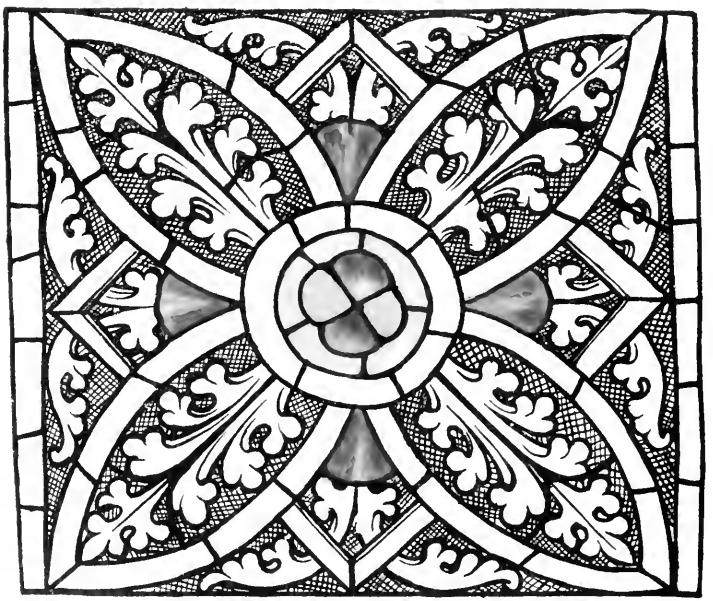


Charles Winston, del. Philip Delamotte, Litho Vincent Brooks

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

VII.

ON A REVIVED MANUFACTURE OF COLOURED GLASS USED IN ANCIENT WINDOWS.

Read at the Ordinary Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, June 14th, 1852.

THE point to which I have to direct your attention is, "a revived manufacture of glass used in ancient windows;" but, in order that the importance of the subject may not be underrated, I wish to make some remarks, in the first place, on the harmony observable between the design and execution of glass-paintings and the quality of the material of which they are composed—a harmony which, though more remarkable at some periods than at others, may yet be observed, in a greater or less degree, in all works having any pretension to originality. It is only when the perception of the artist has become blunted, and his invention paralysed by a habit of servile, unreflecting imitation, that *all* trace of the harmony is lost. I cannot better illustrate my meaning than by contrasting the glass-paintings of the middle of the sixteenth century with those of the twelfth and thirteenth.

At this early period, when the richest, the most beautiful, and the deepest colouring in glass that we are acquainted with was employed, we always find that the picture was both designed and executed in the simplest manner. There are no complicated groups, no atmospheric effects; hardly any effect of light and shade, and no high finish. If a group is represented, the figures all appear to be in the same plane, and to be cut out by a stiff background of deep blue or red. A landscape is rarely attempted; when this is the case, it is symbolised, rather than represented, by trees, buildings, or other accessories, of most mediæval cut and conventional character, which always appear, by the positiveness of their colouring, to be in the same plane as the figures, and, like them, are cut out

by the aforesaid stiff background. The whole expression of the drawing is conveyed by means of strong black outlines, the effect of which is usually heightened by a simple wash of shadow in half-tint, the edges of which are left hard. In short, the artists of this early time seem to have aimed at producing little less than a rich mosaic, of the most vivid and harmonious hues.

I say they *seem* to have done so, for I am morally certain that they were really as ambitious of pictorial effect as any of their successors, and that their not having achieved it resulted rather from circumstances and want of skill, than from any lack of intention. Had these men really adopted a flat style, on principle, they could hardly have failed to avoid those inconsistencies which are so obvious in their works, such as representing a landscape at all under such conditions; shading the figure, and giving it a greater relief than the canopy *under* which it is supposed to be placed; and regulating the depth of the shading rather by the size of the figure, than the intended position of the painting in the church.

Had they acted on a well understood principle, we might have expected to find some attempt made to lessen, if not obviate, the indistinctness resulting from a flat treatment, by means of a proper arrangement of the colouring; but the instances where the *entire* colouring of a group is strongly contrasted with the hue of the background, are so rare as to justify the supposition that they were accidental. I am, I confess, led by these, and similar considerations, irresistibly, to the conclusion that the glass-painters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though great colourists, were not, in other respects, great artists; and, that whatever we find good in their works, is the rich legacy of antiquity: that, as we undoubtedly owe to Pagan times the art of imparting these magnificent colours to glass,[1] so do we owe to the influence of Pagan art that style of low relief which, corrupted by the Byzantines, and misunderstood in "ye ages of feythe," is, nevertheless, so far as it is developed in the windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so truly admirable,

[1] The truth of this will sufficiently appear on comparing the coloured glass of the twelfth century with the specimens of Roman and Greek glass in the British Museum. So complete an identity of colour argues an identity of manufacture, which manufacture there is good ground for believing was handed down from Pagan times. The strong resemblance which the most superficial observer must recognise of the twelfth and early thirteenth century draperies and figures to those of the Greek school of art, raises a reasonable inference that the glass-painters of those times, though, in all probability, natives of the country in which they practised, derived their art from the Byzantines.

because so excellently adapted to the stiff and intense colours of the period—colours so intense and unvarying in depth as to preclude the possibility of their being made subservient to those pictorial effects which are indispensable to the satisfactory representation of a subject whose composition would rank above that of a bas-relief.

The contrast afforded by turning to a glass-painting of the middle of the sixteenth century is very striking. We no longer behold a stiff mosaic depending for success almost exclusively on the richness of its colouring, but, on the contrary, a picture, brilliant, it is true, but resting its claims quite as much on its composition and general treatment as on the vivacity of its hues. Here complicated foreground groups, as well as important architectural accessories, are introduced; they are delineated correctly, and highly finished. The relative distances of the various objects are preserved by means of light and shade; and the landscape background, monotonous as it may appear in comparison with that of an oil or fresco painting, recedes and disengages itself from the figures and architecture, imparting to the picture an effect of atmosphere.

The glass of which this picture is composed will be found, on examination, to differ widely from that used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In general it is thinner in substance; it is always weaker in tint; and on that account, if regarded simply as a vehicle for colour, would be far inferior to the elder material. Yet for the purpose to which it is applied it could not be more suitable. Its pellucidness and lightness of tint are admirably calculated to display the high finish of the painting, to favour atmospheric effect, and vivid contrasts of light and shade. Nor does the employment of a material comparatively so flimsy and weak impart a corresponding flimsiness or weakness to the picture. A good specimen of cinque-cento work will be found as imposing in effect as a window of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Let any one endeavour to recall to mind the glass at Chartres, and that filling the four windows of the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament in Brussels Cathedral. I am sure he will feel an impression that he has seen something at both places equally striking, something equally removed from flimsiness or poverty. The paradox is easily explained when we consider that in the mosaics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the effect of the glass is but little aided by contrast of colour or by shading; whereas in the pictures of the cinque-cento period, not only is the colouring arranged in broader

masses, which is of itself a great assistance to a poor material, but the strongest contrasts of colour and of light and shade are employed.

I have now compared the best exponent I have been able to find of a flat style of glass-painting with what I believe to be a perfect exponent of the rotund or pictorial style of glass-painting, and I have endeavoured to point out that in each specimen the quality of the glass, and mode of painting it, are alike different; and further, that each kind of glass, and each mode of using it, are severally calculated to act and react upon one another, so as to set both off to the greatest advantage.

It will be useful to pursue the subject further, and show that during the whole interval which elapsed between the abandonment of the flat or mosaic style, at the end of the thirteenth or middle of the fourteenth century, and the adoption of the rotund or pictorial style, which it took two centuries to perfect in the cinque-cento, a certain harmony existed between the quality of the material and the mode of working it. It would be rather a matter of curiosity than of practical advantage to speculate on the causes which led to these changes in the quality of the material and the mode of working it. If I might hazard a conjecture, I should be inclined to say that it was a change in the manufacture which induced, or necessitated, a change in the painting, and not the reverse; because we know that from Pliny's time, downwards, the effort has always been to improve on the manufacture of glass, that is, to render the material more pure and pellucid, and better fitted for domestic purposes, without reference to its employment in painted windows. But, however this may be, each change in the manufacture, and each change in the mode of painting, were, in general, contemporaneous.

There was but little change in the quality of the glass between the end of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth, if, perhaps, we except the deterioration of some of the colours; the deep blue appears to have lost its sapphire-like hue with the decline of Byzantine influences, soon after the middle of the thirteenth century. And, during the same period, the principles of the flat style were subjected to scarcely any greater violation than they had already, if not always, sustained. But in the second half of the fourteenth century, and, as it would appear, in this country at least, about 1380, an important change in the manufacture of the material took place. The white glass became purer, and all the coloured glass lighter

in tint. Simultaneously a not less important change in the mode of painting was effected. It is true that the colouring had become broader and less mosaic, and the designs somewhat more pictorial, previously to the change in the material in 1380; and this is particularly remarkable in the glass-paintings of Germany, in which country I am strongly inclined to think that the alteration in the glass manufacture originated. But the change to which I would now particularly advert is in the execution of the painting.

Wykeham's glass at New College Chapel, Oxford, which is one of the earliest specimens, may be referred to in illustration of it. The outlines became thinner, the shadows broader and softer, the painting altogether higher wrought and finished, and the treatment generally more pictorial. By the end of the fourteenth century the new style of execution was established, as we see it in the east window of York Minster. But, though rotund and pictorial in principle, it was not rotund or pictorial in effect till the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when the bolder practice of the cinque-cento artists brought it out in all its vigour. Still, though we must regard the works of this long intermediate period as inferior alike to the painted glass of the thirteenth century and the cinque-cento time, having neither the depth of colour of the one nor the pictorial power of the other, it is impossible to examine them without perceiving that their authors must have felt that the more delicate material with which they were furnished invited, if not demanded, a more delicate mode of execution.

Again, we may trace in all works executed since the middle of the sixteenth century down to the present time, except, indeed, the recent imitations of mediæval glass-paintings, a certain degree of harmony between the quality of the material and the mode of working it. I do not intend to enter upon the comparative merits of the mode of execution adopted by the cinque-cento artists, who used an enamel colour only for the purposes of shading, and of the mode of execution adopted subsequently, according to which enamel colours were used more or less in substitution of glass coloured in its manufacture, though I admit I entertain a strong opinion in favour of the former, because I know that the question is extensive enough, if gone into, to form the subject of a separate inquiry. But, apart from this consideration, we see in all the works of the Van Linges, the Prices, the Jervaises, and, lastly, in the modern Munich glass, a very delicate and finished style of painting, combined with the use of

a material so delicate and pellucid as to appear extremely flimsy, were its thinness not disguised by the mode of painting it. In all glass-paintings, therefore, of whatever period, with the single exception I have named, we find the execution and design of the painting vary with the quality of the glass, being simple when the glass was rich in colour, and not over transparent; and proportionately more and more delicate and complicated as the glass became weaker in colour, more pellucid, and more thin in effect. And if any proof were wanting, either that these corresponding changes were intentional, or dictated by good taste and sound sense, it is amply afforded us by the modern copies of mediæval glass, and even by the devices resorted to in order to insure as much as possible the fidelity of the imitation; and, I am sorry to add, the enormous mendacity not unfrequently relied upon in support of a bad case.

The works to which I allude are copies of glass-paintings of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Some persons roundly assert that there exists a positive identity of effect between these copies and the originals; others seek to excuse any apparent difference by the remark that age alone is wanting to complete the identity. In dealing with these assertions I shall assume the possibility of making exact copies of the *design* and *manipulation* of ancient glass-paintings, for, though I have never met with an instance of such exactness in English work, I certainly have met with it repeatedly in French. I shall therefore found whatever I have to urge in disproof of this alleged identity, or would-be identity, upon an examination of the nature and quality of the material of which these copies are composed.

I have discovered a simple mode of testing whether, on the one hand, glass is sufficiently opaque, so as not to appear flimsy or watery when put up in a window unassisted by shading, according to the practice of the flat style of glass-painting; on the other, whether it is sufficiently clear to produce as brilliant an effect as the old does. It is this: if the glass, held at arm's-length from the eye, and at the distance of *more* than a yard from an object, does not permit of that object being distinctly seen through it, the glass will be sufficiently opaque; and if, when held at the same distance from the eye, and at the distance of *not* more than a yard from the object, it permits of the latter being distinctly seen through the glass, it will be sufficiently clear and transparent. I have found this to be the case with a great many pieces of glass of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, which had been rendered clear by polishing the

surface, or which were already quite clear; for it is a great mistake to suppose that all old glass has been rendered dull on the surface by exposure to the atmosphere. I have seen a great deal of glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that is as clear now as when it was first made, its surface not having been corroded in the least. But the glass of which these imitative works are made is either smooth on the surface, and so pellucid and watery as, when held at arm's-length, to permit of any object being perfectly seen through it which is at the distance of 100, or even 1000 yards, or more; or else is artificially roughened on the surface—a practice which reduces the condition of the glass nearly to that of ground-glass—for, when held at arm's length, it will not permit of any object being seen distinctly through it which is distant more than an inch from the glass.

The practice, not unfrequently resorted to by the imitators of old glass, of *antiquating* smooth-surfaced glass, that is, dulling it with the enamel colour used for painting the outlines, renders it, when held at arm's-length, nearly, if not quite, as opaque as rough-surfaced glass; indeed, almost the only perceptible difference in this respect between rough-surfaced glass and smooth-surfaced glass that has been antiquated is, that the former is free from the tint necessarily imparted to the latter by the enamel colour with which it is antiquated. Thus we find that imitations of glass of the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth century, if executed in smooth-surfaced glass that has not been antiquated, are poor and watery in comparison with original work of that period; and that, if executed in glass that has been antiquated, or in rough-surfaced glass, they are much too opaque. In the one case, to speak popularly, the vision passes too uninterruptedly through the glass; in the other, it is stopped at the surface of the glass, instead of passing about a yard through it, as in the case of ancient work.

I might show the non-identity of modern glass with ancient, even by a reference to the difference of its colouring; the old being invariably harmonious and rich, the modern almost as invariably raw, crude, and poor in tone, a circumstance arising partly from the use of colouring materials different from those formerly employed, partly from a difference in the make of the glass. But I am content to leave the case as it stands. I cannot, however, forbear the remark that it is most amusing to find many earnest admirers of mediæval imitations, who, though apparently ignorant of the practice of roughing the surface of glass, are aware of the pernicious effect of "smudging," or

"antiquating," that which is smoothly surfaced, attributing to windows on which neither of these practices has been employed the effect of ancient ones, because, as they assert, "the glass then remains clear and pure as in ancient times." Was there ever so entire a misconception? Is flimsiness or wateriness a characteristic of ancient glass? Do we ever find the glass even of the sixteenth century as flimsy and watery as that used in the works to which they allude as exact imitations of glass-paintings of the thirteenth? Of course we do not. I say of course, because recent analyses have discovered the presence of at least one constituent of old glass which does not exist in the modern, and which, on being purposely introduced, produces that selfsame effect of solidity and richness which we perceive and admire in the old.

It is now time to advert to the revived manufacture of glass, which constitutes the text of this paper; and in doing so I must disclaim any merit that may attach to the discovery beyond having started the inquiry which led to it, and sometimes having given an opinion on the quality of the colours produced. The merit of the discovery is to be ascribed to the chemical science of my friend Mr. Medlock, of the Royal College of Chemistry, and the practical skill of Mr. Edward Green, of Messrs. Powell's glass-works in Whitefriars.

I was anxious in the autumn of 1849 to procure some blue glass like that of the twelfth century; that is to say, not a raw positive blue, such as we see in modern windows, but a soft, bright, intense blue, or rather a sort of neutralized purple. And for this purpose I submitted some twelfth century blue glass to Mr. Medlock for analysis. He completed his analysis in Easter-week, 1850, and thereby determined that the colouring matter was cobalt, thus putting an end to many ingenious speculations that had been previously formed on the subject, some, I am afraid, without much reflection. The lapis lazuli theory, which has been embraced by Mr. Hendrie in his translation of 'Theophilus,' and Mrs. Merrifield, in her 'Ancient Practice of Painting,' is, indeed, opposed to the testimony of Dr. Merret in the seventeenth century, in a note by him on the treatise of Neri, where he declares that he had ascertained by experiment the impossibility of colouring glass blue with lapis lazuli, about which there can be no doubt. Mr. Medlock intends, I know, to prosecute his inquiries on the subject of blue glass, and to analyse various specimens from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, when we know that cobalt was employed, so as to form

a series which, when connected with the analyses of Roman and Greek glass made by Sir Henry de la Beche and others, will form a most valuable chain in the history of the manufacture. It would therefore be unbecoming in me to anticipate Mr. Medlock's Memoir by giving a more detailed statement of this analysis; I may, however, add, that the discovery of the true colouring matter was but one of the beneficial results of this analysis; for in working it out practically, in which due attention was paid to the ancient receipts, the ancient art of making white and coloured glass was, in effect, revived. I say revived, for, between the glass that has been already made, and the old, I can discover no perceptible difference, though I have tested it in every way I can conceive, short of actually having a window made of it. I had hoped that it would have been subjected to this test ere now, but it will, at all events, be very shortly submitted to it; and as the blue in question, and, indeed, the rest of the new glass already made, is destined for some windows in the round part of the Temple Church, in which my friend the Rev. J. L. Petit and myself are interested, I need not say that you will all have an opportunity of judging for yourselves whether or not the experiment is successful. It is, of course, never wise to halloo till you are out of the wood, and, had I foreseen the unavoidable delays that have retarded the manufacture, I should have declined addressing you at present. However, as my name was actually put down, I did not think it right to cause any fresh arrangements to be made, more particularly as I have reasonable grounds for believing in the success of the experiment.[1]

I have now to offer a few remarks in conclusion, which, considering the time I have already trespassed on your attention, I have condensed as much as possible. I have to appeal to you, the professors of the noblest of arts, in favour of this unhappy art of glass-painting. I call it an art, because it is impossible to look at the glass at Chartres, Angers, or Brussels, without feeling that glass-painting was once practised by artists. I will ask you by whom it is *now* practised in this country? for abroad it is still artistical; and further, whose fault is it that it con-

[1] Mr. Hughes of Frith Street, who was usually employed by Mr. Winston on works in which he was interested, has given the names of many places where the new glass has been used. Among them are the churches of Bushbury, Rushall, and Penn, Staffordshire; Birstwith, Gargrave, Kildwick, Yorkshire; St. Asaph's Cathedral, and the Chapel of Rozel, Jersey. The first piece of blue glass successfully obtained is in Mr. Hughes' possession.

tinues in such bad hands? It cannot be for lack of encouragement, for I doubt not but that, if all the money that has been expended on painted windows within the last twenty years were added together, it would be found to equal, if not exceed, the sums paid to Raphael or Michael Angelo. The fault lies in those who have imbibed the exaggerated and rather sentimental estimate of the middle ages, which is so fashionable; who persist in regarding those ages at a distance which, softening down deformities, keeps mean and debasing objects out of sight, and leaves only the more noble and lofty ones conspicuous; who suffer their feelings to be so captivated by the pleasing phantom of their imagination as to admit neither beauty nor propriety in anything that does not remind them of the middle ages, and therefore prefer copies of mediæval work to anything that the art of the nineteenth century can invent. To such persons I have long ceased to address myself; it is no use arguing against a man's feelings, however conclusive may be the facts adduced. I therefore appeal to you, who possess collectively so great an influence in these matters, whether it is enough to have improved in the manufacture of coloured glass? And here I would especially address myself to the Greeks, with whom I am connected by all my early associations, by my pagan education. Is there any reason why painted glass should be banished from buildings in the Classical style? For Palladian churches you have the cinque-cento style made to your hands, a style susceptible of high artistical development, and which neither in its treatment nor in its ornament is more severe than the architecture of the building. I advert to the circumstance, because in a neighbouring church—St. James's, Piccadilly—mediæval influences have so far triumphed as to cause the introduction of painted glass more severe in style than the church itself—glass which I have often heard made the theme of extravagant admiration. And for churches in the Greek style, surely it would not be difficult to form an artistically flat style; I say flat, because a flat style may be made more severe than a rotund style could be in painted glass, using the powerful and beautiful colours whose resuscitation I have proclaimed, and resorting to the pure models of antiquity for the forms. The researches of Mr. Penrose and others have exploded the idea that weak colours only are appropriate for the decoration of Greek architecture; why not, then, use deep colours in the windows, and shame the mediævals into some sort of improvement, by associating beautiful colouring with exquisite drawing?

[In the Transactions of the Institute an account of a discussion on glass-painting follows. In the course of it Mr. Winston, in reply to an inquiry whether subjecting the paintings of ancient windows to any alkaline wash had the effect of cleaning them without rendering the colours crude by removing the softening down of tone which time had produced, stated that he had washed a good number of pieces, and found that it had the effect of making the colours purer. Some of the glass to which he had applied the test was as clean as it was the day it was put by, and the only reason he could assign for it was, that it contained a greater quantity of silex than usual in proportion to the alkali, and was, therefore, not so easily attacked by the atmosphere. It was capable of being toned down, and then, certainly, some of the colour must be lost. The glass in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, was of the same date, and as light, as that used in the cathedral at Brussels, and he had cleaned some of it, and found the same result—that old glass cleaned had a better effect than uncleaned glass of the same date; but, compared with modern glass, old glass, cleaned or uncleaned, will always be found superior in tone and effect.]

VIII.

ON THE METHODS OF PAINTING UPON GLASS.

An explanation given at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, March 7, 1853.

R. WINSTON gave a popular explanation of the methods of painting upon glass. In the course of it, he said,[1] that no one could deny the fitness of the enamel system for small cabinet works, destined to be seen near the eye, allowing as this system did for the utmost minuteness of execution. That nothing could be more exquisite in its way than one of the works exhibited at the Exhibition of 1851, entitled "Lucia Mondella," by Valsecchi of Milan, in which the effect of a portrait in oil was produced on glass with the most marvellous fidelity; but that it was not to such purposes as these that painted glass was ordinarily applied. That it was chiefly employed for works on a large scale, and such as were intended to be viewed from a distance. That for such works the Enamel system was not suited; because colour applied to glass with a brush could not possibly be so brilliant as colour made in the glass-house. That, in exemplification, though it was true that blue pot-metal glass was nothing more than white glass mixed with cobalt and fused, and that the enamel blue applicable to glass consisted of soft white glass mixed with cobalt, which was fused upon the glass, yet the greater and longer-continued heat of the glass-house, as compared with that of the glass-painter's kiln, caused a more thorough admixture of the vitreous with the colouring particles to take place, which occasioned the superior transparency, and consequent brilliancy and power, of, for instance, coated blue glass, as compared with white glass to which a blue tint had been imparted by means of enamel blue. That the dulness and want of

[1] The preceding part of the explanation is here omitted, as it does not contain anything which is not more fully given in the present volume.

power of enamel-colouring must be obvious to any one who had seen the painted windows in the Barons' Hall, Arundel Castle; or Reynolds's window at New College, Oxford; or the west window of Magdalen College, Oxford.

That the objection sometimes urged against the employment of the mosaic system, the unavoidable use of lead-work to connect the fabric, really applied with equal force to the enamel system; for that it was impossible to expose, without breaking them, very large sheets of glass in the glass-painter's kiln to a heat sufficient to vitrify the enamel colour, and thoroughly weld it to the glass. That the largest sheets of painted glass that had come to Mr. Winston's notice were exhibited in Hyde Park, in 1851, by the St. Helen's Glass Company, but that in them the enamel was barely vitrified, and was in consequence very opaque, and would peel off in a few years; and that these sheets of glass, though interesting to the critical inquirer, and notwithstanding the merits of Mr. Frank Howard's designs from which they had been executed, must as glass-painting be admitted to have been utter failures. That, supposing these sheets could have been properly burnt, their size, which Mr. Winston thought could not have exceeded three feet by six feet, large as that must be considered, was but small in comparison with the opening of an ordinary window, and consequently that such a window must be filled with several pieces of glass, which would render the employment of a metal framework necessary to give stability to the fabric. That in ordinary practice the pieces of glass of which an enamel painting was composed, were cut into square or rectangular forms, and held together with lead-work, which gave the appearance of the pictures being covered with a black net-work, as might be observed in Reynolds's window at Oxford.

That, seeing that the employment of opaque metal-work in a glass-painting might be considered as one of the conditions of the branch of art, and that enamel glass-paintings never had the depth or juiciness of oil-paintings nor the brilliancy of mosaic glass-paintings, it appeared that the mosaic system of glass-painting was on the whole best suited for large works. That this was proved by the examination of paintings executed according to the mosaic-enamel method, in which there was a diminution of power or brilliancy in proportion as enamel-colouring was substituted for coloured glass, or was employed as a wash to heighten its effect. That the beautiful work by Bertini, in the Great Exhibition, "Dante and his thoughts," might be cited in support; that this work, if seen in the ordi-

nary position of a painted window, instead of being viewed from a darkened apartment, would have looked dull in comparison with old windows executed under the mosaic system, as those in the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament at Brussels. That, instead of endeavouring to imitate oil-paintings which were inimitable in glass, it seemed best on the whole for artists to adopt that system of glass-painting under which, as in the mosaic system, the most vivid effects of colour that human art was capable of could be produced, and in which the necessary lead-lines might be made conducive to the effect of the picture instead of detracting from it; and to design a glass-painting with the object and intention of executing it according to a system which afforded the artist very limited means of representation as compared with oil or water-colour painting, and was incapable at the very best of producing any great atmospheric effect; and, above all, with the intention of affecting the most sudden and decided contrasts of light and shade—since, by this means, the leads might be most easily concealed from the spectator, and pass unnoticed in the general crispness of the picture. That the peculiar conditions of glass-painting seemed, on the whole, to have been hitherto most completely complied with in the windows of the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament in Brussels Cathedral, and in the windows of the choir of Lichfield Cathedral, which were imported from Belgium, and were nearly contemporary with the Brussels windows, the whole of the windows in question having been painted between 1534 and 1547. That it was not unreasonable to inquire what greater pictorial effect could be desired than was displayed in these windows. That, like fresco paintings (to which they bore a considerable general resemblance), they were simple and grand, and told their story fully and unmistakeably. That there could be no question what sort of pictures these were; that they were glass-paintings, and nothing else, differing from oil-paintings in their comparative want of atmosphere, and from both oil and fresco paintings in their vivid and intense colouring; yet displaying in their composition and treatment the pains the artist had taken to render them as pictorially perfect as the means afforded. That in each window the subject was represented as seen under the influence of broad sunshine, consistently with which the most vivid contrasts of light and shade were introduced, producing the utmost crispness of effect, and so artfully concealing the lead-work, whilst the nature of the composition reminded the spectator very forcibly of the means resorted to by the

greatest of painters to correct in a freso-painting an unpleasing degree of flatness — the successive archways introduced by Raphael in his School of Athens.

That Mr. Winston was aware that in so strongly advocating the adoption of the mosaic system of glass-painting in preference to all others, and regarding the Brussels and Lichfield windows as showing the utmost to which practical effect in a glass-painting could be carried, he was acting in opposition to the practice of such men as Capronnier of Brussels, Bertini of Milan, and that crowd of German artists who had already done so much to elevate glass-painting to a niche amongst the fine arts. But that it should be remembered that those artists were, in all probability, driven into the practice of laying down all their high lights with enamel-colour, and so destroying the vividness of the works, by the necessity of correcting, as much as possible, the crudity and rawness of modern glass by every expedient in their power; and that, perhaps, they would return to a more complete compliance with the practice of the ancient artists if they possessed the same excellent material that they did.

In conclusion, Mr. Winston adverted to the fact that one of the windows he had given to the Temple Church, painted by Mr. Hughes, was erected in that building; that the glass of which it was composed had been made by Messrs. Powell, from analyses of ancient glass; that the effect of this glass was all that could be desired, and therefore that the time had at last arrived when we might expect that works as harmonious in colour, and much better drawn than the best old specimens, would be produced; and that mediæval painted windows would be studied, not for direct imitation, but as objects of admiration, and as affording hints for modern application.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Winston, in reply to an inquiry as to the effect of silver-coloured glass, said that he considered the effect very good if the colour was not too deep. He added that the practice of putting tinfoil behind glass was known to the mediæval artists; there were some examples of it in the wooden shrine of King Sebert in the choir of Westminster Abbey.

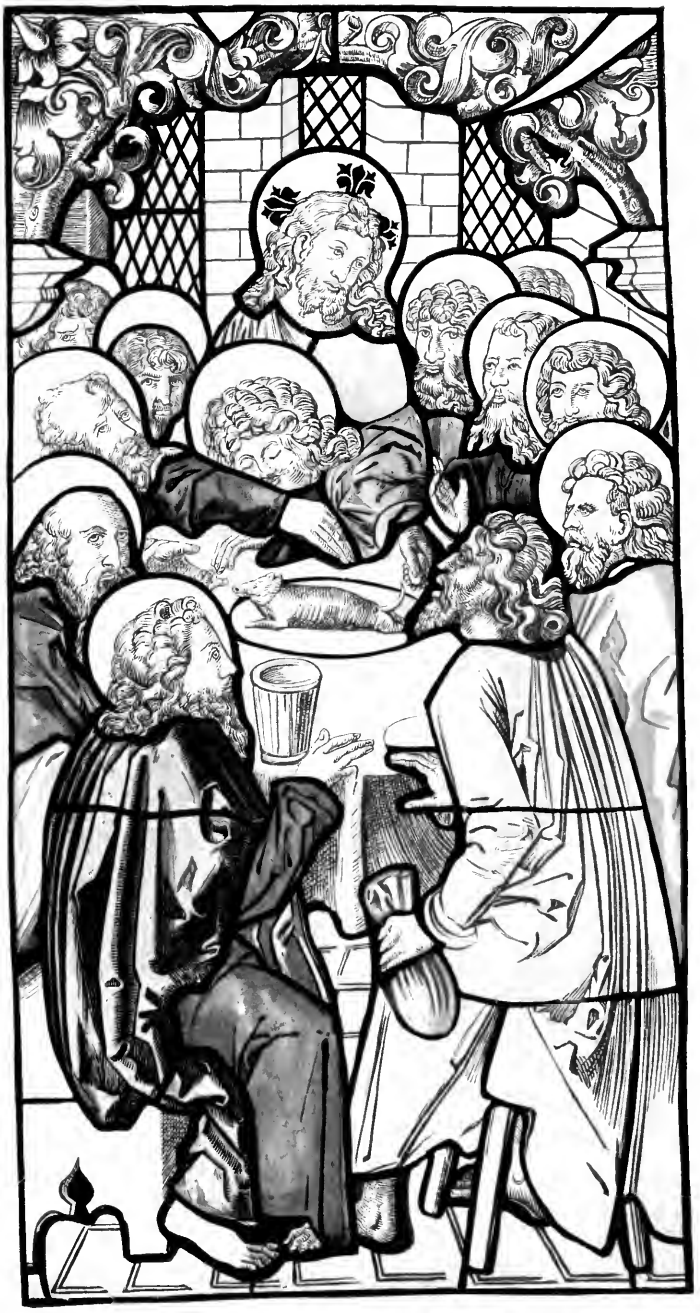
IX.

ON THE APPLICATION OF PAINTED GLASS TO BUILDINGS IN VARIOUS STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE.

Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, November 28th, 1853.

IN composing this paper on Painted Glass with reference to its employment in Buildings in various styles of Architecture, I have endeavoured as much as possible to keep in mind the practical objects of this Society. Many matters, therefore, of interest to the antiquary, will be passed unnoticed, or with a brief allusion to them—my object being, as far as I am able, to supply an answer to the question, What is the kind of painted glass best suited to a building of a given character?

On a question so wide and complicated, it is not only natural that very different opinions should exist, but extremely difficult to ascertain which is the most correct. The inadequacy of language to express ideas so subtle as those of which questions of taste are composed, must ever be an insuperable obstacle to bringing questions of taste to a certain determination by argument: a consideration which is condemnatory of the modern vice of dogmatizing upon such subjects. And the nature of the only remaining tribunal—the concurrent opinion of men of taste—that is of men who have given their attention to such matters, and whose views are respected by others engaged in the same pursuits—of itself sanctions a great latitude of sentiment. The feelings and habits, the education and temperament of individuals, even their natural appreciation of form or colour, all insensibly influence their opinions on a subject respecting which there exists no definite standard. I am therefore very far from claiming any sort of infallibility for the views I am about to submit to your consideration—views which I shall attempt to support rather by calling your attention to objects with which you are already familiar, than by elaborate argument.



C. WINSTON. LEIGHTON, BROS.

GERMAN GLASS.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE LORD HERBERT OF LEA.

The variety of buildings which may require to be decorated with painted glass is great. Some are in the Greek or Palladian styles of architecture, others are in the Gothic styles; and each building may be more or less grave or solemn in its aspect than others of its class. Such differences in the buildings demand, of course, corresponding differences in their painted windows. But before entering upon this topic, it will be convenient to declare what I believe to be the best subjects for glass-painting, and the best mode of executing them. With regard to the mode of executing glass-paintings, I will recall your attention to a paper which I read here, about a year ago, on the Methods of Painting upon Glass.[1] In this, after stating that there were three distinct modes of executing glass-paintings,—viz., by the mosaic method, in which the local colouring of the picture is produced by means of glass coloured in its manufacture, the shadows and outlines only being executed with an enamel colour; by the enamel method, in which the colouring of the design is effected by using enamel colours; and by the mosaic enamel method, in which the colouring of the picture is produced by a combination of the two former methods,—I concluded that the mosaic method was the best; because it was, from the nature of the thing, more favourable than either of the others to a display of the translucent quality of glass, and consequently of its brilliant and powerful colours, whilst, at the same time, it afforded the means of executing works as highly pictorial as the windows of the transepts and north chapel of Brussels Cathedral —works which maintain their superiority in point of effect, when compared with a series of later examples, including some of the most beautiful specimens that modern continental art can boast. This conclusion, for the soundness of which I must refer you to the paper I have named, and to the works of art therein mentioned, will confine our inquiry to what are the subjects best adapted for representation in glass-paintings, executed according to the mosaic method.

These subjects may be divided into the following classes: patterns, similar to those used throughout the Mediæval period, and which usually consist of ornamental work in white glass, but sometimes of scrolls of foliage, either white or coloured, on a coloured ground; pictures, where the objects are represented as

[1] 'On the Methods of Painting upon Glass,' read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Institute, 7th March, 1853, and published in the Transactions. [It is the preceding memoir in this volume.]

seen in one plane, as in a bas-relief—such as we see in the painted windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and pictures, where the objects are represented as occupying several planes, as in nature—such as we meet with in the painted windows of the first half of the sixteenth century; and, of course, compositions consisting entirely of such patterns or pictures, or partly of patterns and partly of pictures. To avoid any possible misconception, I should perhaps here state that any reference to Mediæval examples in this paper is made only for the purpose of illustration, and not with any intention of conveying an impression that they are fit objects of imitation. Most valuable hints are doubtless to be obtained from an enlightened examination of such examples; but before we think of copying them, we ought to be quite sure that they are worth copying; and I will undertake to say that not one ancient example of painted glass, except, perhaps, those consisting of pattern-work, can be considered as a perfect model for imitation. All, with the trifling exceptions I have named, of whatever date, are defective in one way or another, either in composition, drawing, or general effect. Even the finest cinque-cento examples, which, taken collectively, are perhaps of all ancient examples the least open to criticism, were done at a time when the human figure was but imperfectly understood by the glass-painters. And with regard to the often expressed notion, that it is better to submit to copies of mediæval examples than trust to modern invention, permit me to say that a more unjust imputation against the taste and skill of the nineteenth century never was made, or a more complete apology conceived for indolence and incapacity. Whose fault is it, I would ask, that low art, at least in regard to glass-painting, should seem to be almost inseparably associated with what are called Church principles of architecture? Are not the patrons of the art to blame for indolently acquiescing in and sanctioning a mere system of copying, because they have not sufficient energy to study glass-painting thoroughly, and make themselves acquainted with its principle? We may depend on it, if glass-painting, or I may say art in general, had a practical bearing on the affairs of life, instead of only furnishing a means of amusement, we should no more hear of currency being given to such doctrines respecting it, than we now hear engineers advocating our going back to the single-condensing steam-engine, or travellers by railway yearning for a return to the old horse-tracks.

The patterns to which I have alluded do obviously comply

with the conditions of the mosaic method in the fullest and simplest manner; for the brilliancy of the glass is altogether unsubdued in these works, and the mechanical construction of the window is in harmony with their design—the lead-work connecting the pieces of glass, either forming an integral part of the pattern, or else actually constituting the pattern itself. I may illustrate my meaning by a reference to familiar examples, such as the Five Sisters, at York, and the geometrical pattern works, executed in white glass, so common in the seventeenth century, particularly on the Continent, of which engravings have occasionally appeared in the 'Builder.'

Turning from these, the works which next appear the most completely and simply to comply with the conditions of the mosaic method, are the pictures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; for, of all pictures, these admit of the employment of glass of the most powerful hue, and diminish its brilliancy the least. Here, also, the lead-work is made conducive to the effect of the design. It is true that in the cinque-cento style we meet with pictures in which, as in a bas-relief, all objects are represented as occupying one plane as effectively as in a picture of the earlier period; but in no glass-paintings is the bas-relief principle of representation effectively carried out with so much *simplicity* as in the pictures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This, I apprehend, is owing no less to the nature of the glass of which these works are formed, than to the composition of the picture. This glass, when compared with the glass used in later times, is remarkable for its apparent solidity; a quality which, without sensibly detracting from the brilliancy of the glass, imparts great depth and richness to its hues. Hence the artists of that early period were able to leave large breadths of glass in their pictures unincumbered with any enamel colour —with which, in the mosaic style, as I have already informed you, the painting of the picture is performed—without incurring the risk of producing a weak or flimsy effect. We all are aware of the fact, that the shields of arms and the panel grounds, which in later years were so profusely adorned with diaper patterns, executed with the enamel brown paint, are in the works of this period usually left quite plain; the artists appearing to rely for effect on the tone and richness of the material itself. So, we perceive, on examining a figure in any one of these early pictures, that whilst the deepest shadows are represented in the simplest manner by opaque lines, and the shadows in half-tint by a slight wash of enamel brown, the proportion of the glass

left quite clear for the high lights is much larger than in later glass-paintings. That such a simple mode of execution, if applied to a more pellucid and watery material, must necessarily produce only a poor and flimsy effect, may be learnt from the modern copies of thirteenth-century glass.

But without dwelling on this point, I will call your attention to the composition of a twelfth or thirteenth century picture, as of itself ensuring distinctness without the aid of any great breadth of shadow. This is simple enough: it consists in arranging the figures in one line, usually as a bar crossing the picture; in keeping the action of the figures as much as possible in the direction of the plane of the picture, and in insulating and separating the figures by the ground of the picture—a treatment, as you perceive, corresponding with that of an antique bas-relief. And since this treatment is in general more intelligibly carried out in the earlier examples, I think we may venture to ascribe it to the fuller influence of classical art at an early period of glass-painting. In addition to this, as a general rule, the colouring of the figures is kept lighter than that of the ground of the panel. Of course these remarks are derived from an examination of a great many examples. I mention this, because I could easily contradict almost every one of them by a reference to particular works. It is from a majority of specimens only that a general principle is to be collected. The subjects to which I have just alluded are necessarily characterised by a certain archaic formality, arising from the stiffness of the colouring, and the simplicity of the design and execution.

I have now to direct your attention to subjects of another class, as remarkable for their pictorial effect. I mean the picture glass-paintings of the first half, or, more correctly, of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. These works are in many respects the very opposites to those just described. Their colouring is harmonious rather than deep, and they are highly finished—peculiarities which I could show to be connected with the nature of the glass employed in these works, which, without being as flimsy and pellucid as ordinary modern glass, is yet very inferior in depth and richness to that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Still these works will be found to comply with the conditions of the mosaic method, after making allowance for their different nature, equally with the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and I hope I shall be able to prove that they are entitled to equal estimation. Their composition is various, consisting sometimes, as in the pictures of the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries, only of a line of figures occupying a single plane; but more commonly of a group—of *foreground* figures, it is true, but which in parts recede from the eye: the figures not unfrequently occupying in plan the arc of a semicircle, as in some of Raphael's designs; and beyond the figures some distant object is usually represented, such as the sky, or a landscape. The picture, therefore, is designed on the principle of representing depth, and, in the best examples, is executed in such a manner as to produce the effect of depth. The means resorted to for this purpose are very simple. First may be noticed the choice of such subjects as are capable, without a violation of probability, of being represented in a somewhat severe, if not harsh manner: thus a landscape, or a sea-piece, a full idea of which cannot be conveyed without representing the graduated tints and soft outlines of nature, was never, at this period, selected as the *principal* subject of a glass-painting. On the contrary, when a landscape background is adopted, it is used merely as an accessory, to set off and relieve a group of foreground figures, in which all the interest of the composition centres. And secondly, we may remark, that all the objects in the picture are represented as if they were seen under the influence of broad sunshine; a mode of treatment the most favourable, not only to a display of bright lights and sharp decided shadows, but to the general transparency of the picture, it being possible by this means to separate the various objects from each other, without having recourse to extensive masses of shadow or concentration of light, the use of which, however effective in the works of Rembrandt and other oil-painters, is wholly unsuited to the conditions of glass-painting, on account of its very limited scale of transparent shade. The heaviness resulting from the adoption of the opposite principle of concentrating the light in the middle of the picture and keeping the rest in comparative obscurity, is shown in the upper subject of the west window of New College Chapel, Oxford, and in the west window of Magdalen College Chapel, and in a variety of modern works; and the superiority of the sunshine principle becomes apparent on comparing these works with others in which it is adopted, as the windows of the North Chapel of Brussels Cathedral, those of St. Jacques Church, Liége, or the windows of Lichfield Cathedral.

A glance at the drawings on the wall, of portions of the glass at Brussels and Lichfield, will explain my meaning better than any words I can employ. We there see that the figures are cut

out from the background, and the architecture from the sky or landscape, as much by the opposition of light and shade as by the local colours; and thus the crispness and clearness of a sunshine effect is not only highly conducive to the brilliancy of the window, but is most favourable to the concealment of the leads, which form part of and are wholly lost in the sharply defined shadows with which the foreground objects are bounded, and even in the background are, on a close view, not unfrequently absorbed in the colouring, but at all events pass unobserved in the general crispness of the picture, when it is viewed from the proper distance. Of course I am not speaking of the broad modern lead used in repairs of old glass, but of the ancient leads themselves, which never, until almost the beginning of the seventeenth century, exceeded three-sixteenths of an inch in width. In cinque-cento glass-paintings, therefore, the lead-work forms an integral part of the design, equally as in a twelfth or thirteenth century picture. And these works also evince a thorough compliance with the mosaic system in preserving the translucent qualities of glass. A cinque-cento glass picture, notwithstanding the power of its shadows and high finish, which entirely save it from the charge of weakness or poverty, is still a brilliant and diaphanous glass picture; owing, partly to the crisp treatment alluded to, partly to the care taken to leave considerable portions of the glass, though not such relatively large portions as may be seen in the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, unencumbered with enamel brown. But without going further into the minutiæ of the subject, I will ask any one accustomed to compare glass-paintings of different dates, whether in any so high a pictorial effect has been produced, with so little diminution of brilliancy, as in the works of the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

You will perceive that from this summary I have omitted all notice of glass-paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I have done so from a conviction that the nearest approach to an artistically flat style of representation is to be found in the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and that the nearest approach to an artistically rotund style of representation is to be found in the works of the second quarter of the sixteenth century; and that there is nothing to choose between a really flat and a really rotund style. At first sight there is, I admit, but little difference between a thirteenth-century and a fourteenth-century picture in point of composition; but a closer examination generally brings to light various minute differences, tending to

show, either that the artists of the fourteenth century were already contemplating a change from flatness to rotundity of representation, or that they did not strictly adhere to their predecessors' rules for ensuring distinctness in a flat style. The inconsistency, not unfrequently seen in works of the thirteenth century, of representing the figure in relief, but omitting to indicate the recess of the niche in which the figure is supposed to stand—a mistake which perhaps arose from imitating in glass too literally the designs of ancient goldsmith's work, where, as everybody knows, embossed figures are often stuck on a flat ground, having architectural forms drawn in outline upon it—is repeated and exaggerated in pictures of the nineteenth century. Indeed, most of the fourteenth-century groups that, according to the usual fashion of the day, are surmounted with shrine-work, look just like groups painted on flat panels, fringed by way of ornament with spires and crockets; so completely does the apparent flatness of the canopy, rendered no doubt more conspicuous by the increased elaboration of its details, correspond with the flatness of an ordinary panel. And the figures themselves, owing partly to the increased breadth of their draperies, inattention to the principle of insulating them by means of the ground colour of the panel, and a bad selection of the colours of the drapery, certainly do not in general appear at a distance so distinct as the figures in a thirteenth-century picture. I therefore cannot but regard the fourteenth-century style of glass-painting as inferior to the thirteenth, and the fifteenth-century style as inferior to that of the fourteenth. The fifteenth century was evidently passed in the effort to get out of a flat style of representation into a rotund one. It is true that all the pictures of this period appear to be flat, but they are flat in effect only, and not on principle; their flatness is the result of imbecility, not of design. They are designed as much on the principle of depth as a cinque-cento glass-painting, but they do not, like it, produce the effect of depth, because their designers were ignorant of the means of attaining the desired result. As in a cinque-cento glass-painting, so in one of the fifteenth century, the figures are not unfrequently arranged on the arc of a semicircle, and are not cut out or separated from each other by stiff colour. And that the intention was to represent depth is plain from the representation of distant objects, of sky and landscape, coloured with considerable regard to the hues of nature; but, contrary to the practice of the cinque-cento artists, the shadows are sometimes misplaced, and are always too weak; and the gradations of

colouring, though such gradations might have been as easily made as in cinque-cento work, the nature of the material being the same in both cases, are not sufficiently attended to. Hence the glass-pictures of the fifteenth century, beautiful as they sometimes are in detail, remind one in general of an assemblage of court cards. They frequently produce no other effect, even at a moderate distance, than that of a mosaic composed of strangely-shaped pieces of glass of various colours. I think, therefore, that we may leave the works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as objects chiefly interesting to the antiquary.

Having thus indicated, as briefly as I could, the sort of subjects which appear to be most suited for glass-paintings, I will endeavour to show what sort of glass-paintings are best suited for particular buildings. And here the real difficulty of the subject may be said to commence; for since no example of contemporary glazing is to be found in any building earlier than the middle ages, it is only by analogy that we can arrive at the fitness of painted glass for classical buildings, if we rely on experience as a guide; and in a matter of this sort I fear there is no guide so trustworthy as experience.

It will be admitted, I apprehend, that the earlier Gothic styles are more severe in their architectural character than the later ones; and I think that you will likewise admit, on reflection, that the glass most in harmony with Gothic buildings in the Norman or Early English styles is that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I have tried for a long time past to discover the reason of this conformity, and have arrived at the conclusion that the harmony between the painted windows and the architecture depends far more on the colouring of the windows than on their design. I have often contemplated the general effect of thirteenth century, of fifteenth century, and even of sixteenth century painted glass, in the windows of a Norman or Early English building, from a distance too great for admitting of my making out the design with any degree of distinctness, and have invariably observed that the colouring of the earlier glass most accorded with the character of the architecture, and that the harmony was the same, whether the windows were almost entirely formed of white glass, like the Five Sisters at York, or were richly coloured, as at Bourges or Canterbury. As might have been expected, I have not met with the same opportunities of contrasting the effect of thirteenth-century painted glass with that of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, in reference to its harmony with the architecture of the

sixteenth century, but such experiments as I have been able to make have tended to create an impression on my mind, that the glass-paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries do harmonise more completely with the character of the architecture of the fifteenth century than the glass-paintings of the thirteenth. However, without pressing the last point, I will venture to express a firm belief that the colouring of a sixteenth-century glass-painting does harmonise better with the character of a building in the Renaissance style than that of a thirteenth-century glass-painting.

In these conclusions I would beg you to observe that I have been influenced by the general effect of the glass-painting, rather than by its force, because I have remarked that good cinque-cento glass-paintings, which are hardly if at all inferior in power to Early English ones, do not in general harmonise with thirteenth century buildings so completely as the windows of the thirteenth century. The inference I draw from these experiments is, that there is an analogy between the colouring of twelfth and thirteenth century windows, and buildings remarkable for the gravity and solemnity of their appearance. And this, when the nature of the colouring of these windows is analysed, will I think be found to accord with Sir Joshua Reynolds's views. He says in his fourth Discourse, "With respect to colouring, though it may appear at first a part of painting merely mechanical, yet it still has its rules, and those grounded on that presiding principle which regulates both the great and the little in the study of the painter. By this the first effect of the picture is produced, and as this is performed, the spectator, as he walks the gallery, will stop or pass along. To give a general air of grandeur at first view, all trifling or artful play of little lights, or an attention to a variety of tints, is to be avoided. A quietness and simplicity must reign over the whole work, to which a breadth of uniform and simple colour will very much contribute. Grandeur of effect is produced by two different ways, which seem entirely opposed to each other. One is by reducing the colours to little more than chiaro-oscuro, which was the practice of the Bolognian schools, and the other by making the colours very distinct and forcible, such as we see in those of Rome and Florence. But still the presiding principle of both those manners is simplicity. Certainly nothing can be more simple than monotony: and the distinct blue, red, and yellow colours which we see in the draperies of the Roman and Florentine schools, though they have not that kind of harmony which is produced by a variety of

broken and transparent colours, have that effect of grandeur which was intended. Perhaps these distinct colours strike the mind more forcibly, from there not being any great union between them; as martial music, which is intended to rouse the nobler passions, has its effect from the sudden and strongly marked transitions from one note to another, which that style of music requires; whilst in that which is intended to move the softer passions, the notes imperceptibly melt into one another." Now if we compare the colouring of a thirteenth-century glass-painting with that of a cinque-cento one, we perceive that the colouring of the former consists of an assemblage of powerful, distinct, positive tints, skilfully arranged, but more on the simple principle of a mosaic than on the more blended principle of a painting, whilst the tints of the latter are less forcible, less decided, and more blended together. I have seen some cinque-cento glass-pictures in which there is no red, and but little positive blue, the colouring being almost entirely composed of secondary tints, and in which the transition from one tint to another is scarcely more marked or sudden than is the case in some of Titian's pictures. These considerations may perhaps be sufficient of themselves to justify the opinion that the colouring of an Early English glass-painting is more calculated to produce a grave and solemn effect than that of a cinque-cento one; but in acceding to this opinion we ought not to overlook the fact, that the tone of colour of an Early English glass-painting is cool, and that the tone of colour of a cinque-cento glass-painting is warm, and that a cool tone of colour of itself has a tendency to produce a grave effect, and a warm tone to produce a gay effect. If these views are correct, it follows that we ought not only to continue to employ, for the windows of twelfth and thirteenth century buildings, glass-paintings similar to those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as regards the tone and principle of the colouring, but that we ought to glaze in a similar manner the windows of all other buildings which can be said to possess an air of gravity and solemnity equal to that of a twelfth or thirteenth century building: using of course weaker colours, warmer tones, and a more elaborate mode of execution for the windows of buildings in a less severe style. Some people are of opinion that in no style but the Gothic can so solemn an effect be produced; but it seems to me that the solemn character of a building depends rather on its plan and arrangement than on the style of its details. A Norman cathedral is as solemn as a Gothic one, and parts of the Colosseum at Rome are, I am told,

as gloomy and solemn as the aisles of a Norman building. The rule therefore might well apply to certain ecclesiastical buildings in the Roman style of architecture, and I see no reason why it should not equally apply to certain ecclesiastical buildings in the Greek style; certainly these buildings, owing to the simplicity of their plan, do not possess the gloomy effect of a Gothic cathedral, but the extreme severity of the architecture imparts to them an air of gravity and solemnity which I apprehend is rarely equalled by a twelfth or thirteenth century building of corresponding dimensions.

I am quite aware that the employment of rich and deep colouring in windows has a tendency to diminish the apparent size of a building, and I am ready to admit that it is to a fear of producing this result that we may attribute the modern practice of decorating the windows of a Greek building with glass too faint in its hues to rescue it from the imputation of washiness. But it is by no means necessary to go into the opposite extreme. A glass-painting entirely composed of white glass would harmonise with the character of Greek architecture equally as well as one principally composed of coloured glass, provided that the white glass was, like that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, solid in appearance, and had a rich cool tone. And even when the employment of a larger proportion of coloured glass might be desirable, it would always be possible to make the window recede from the eye, by using in it a predominating quantity of blue and white. But whether the advocates for powerfully coloured, or for white windows, as being most in keeping with the character of a Greek building, are right, I trust that all will agree in preferring rich tints to poor ones. Had the ancient Greeks glazed their windows, we may be certain that they would have used glass of rich tint, whether it was white or whether it was coloured. For amongst all the ancient Greek glass vessels that I have examined, I have never met with any of a poor tint or flimsy appearance in point of colour or texture of the glass. And indeed so closely does the glass composing these remains resemble in its appearance and chemical analysis the window-glass of the twelfth century (from which that of the thirteenth differs but little), that were I desirous of forming an idea of what Greek window-glass would have been like, I should endeavour to call to recollection the tints of Suger's glass at St. Denys, or that of the glass in the west triplet of Chartres. And besides, the remains of strong colour used in the decoration of ancient Greek buildings leads to the inference that the ancients, had

they used window-glass at all, would have employed that possessing a rich tint, from choice as well as necessity. We are still less without authority to guide us in regard to the design for windows proper for ecclesiastical buildings in the Greek or Roman style of architecture.

The views I have expressed with reference to the colouring of these windows must confine me to an advocacy of a simple flat system of representation, because pictures composed on the principle of representing depth cannot properly be executed in glass entirely consisting of strong rich tints. The only attempt I have hitherto seen at designing windows for a Greek building is at the Church of St. Vincent de Paul at Paris. But however worthy of notice these windows may be as an embodiment of a new idea, they are neither sufficiently delicate in design, nor simple in execution, to serve as models for our imitation. It is very possible that this defectiveness may be in a great measure attributable to the thinness and watery character of the glass of which they are composed, and to the efforts of the artist to disguise the badness of the material by a more elaborate execution; but such expedients are no longer necessary, since, as I have before informed you,[1] the manufacture of twelfth-century glass has been revived. This I have always considered the more fortunate, on account of the use that might be made of it in the embellishment of classical architecture, consistently with which, unlike the Gothic, art may be fully developed.

There can be no doubt that valuable hints might be derived from an examination of the designs of ancient sculpture, and even of tessellated pavement. Indeed, classical designs, admirably adapted for glass-paintings, are engraved from sculpture in Pistolesi's 'Vatican;' the most remarkable one is given in the second volume, plate 3.[2] These designs consist of figures and ornaments in one plane, and therefore, if executed in glass, as I have recommended, would a good deal resemble some of the works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These mediæval works must appear to the most careless observer to be defective in many respects, particularly in relief. When viewed closely, the intention of the artist to bring out the various projections of the figure and drapery, by means of strong black lines, is often

[1] See paper 'On a revived Manufacture of Coloured Glass used in ancient Windows,' read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Institute, 14th June, 1852, and published in the Transactions. (P. 175 of the present volume.)

[2] 'Il Vaticano descritto et illustrato da Erasmo Pistolesi,' Roma, 1829; see also vol. v. plate 81, and vol. ii. plate 4.

admirable, especially as seen in the heads of the figures; but, sometimes from want of boldness, sometimes from a want of knowledge were to place the shadow, Early English figures in glass, when viewed from a little distance, are too apt to appear like flat surfaces; quite as flat as, if not more flat than, the men and horses appear to be in those copies of the inner frieze of the Parthenon, which, placed in situations distant from the eye, and exposed to the influence of full light, are used to decorate the outsides of some of our public buildings.

I am far from agreeing with those who contend that no greater relief ought to be imparted to a simple flat glass-painting than is given to those flat relievi from the cella of the Parthenon. For those who urge such views seem to have entirely overlooked the original situation of these relievi, placed where no direct light could reach them. To use the words of one of our most accomplished artists: "it is a great mistake to suppose that the flat style of relief was intended to appear flat; and it is a great mistake to apply it in situations, as in the open air, where it must appear so, and be indistinct besides."[1] In accordance with this authority, I will venture to say that quite as much relief ought to be given to the figures in the simplest and flattest glass-painting, as is given to the alti-relievi in the metopes of the Parthenon, which were intended to be seen in the open air, and from a distance. I throw out these observations, however, rather with reference to those who may be about to design simple flat glass-paintings for mediæval buildings. For since I am perfectly sure that none but first-rate artists can design windows fit for classical buildings, I may well be content to leave the matter entirely in their hands; and can only express my surprise that a field so favourable to a display of the highest art should have been so long neglected. Flaxman's labours sufficiently show the possibility of employing the exquisite language of the ancients to express true Christian sentiment; and some of his choicest designs might advantageously be reproduced in painted windows for classical buildings, were it only by way of proving to the public what works of art painted windows might become in competent hands.

I shall trouble you with but few remarks on the selection of glass-paintings for buildings in the Palladian style of architecture, in which I would include all Wren's churches, and even

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[1] 'Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts,' by Sir Charles Eastlake, Pres. R.A., p. 104.

St. Paul's itself; for though that building has in parts a Roman severity, its interior in particular, bears many marks of the taste of the seventeenth century, especially in the ornamental details. Such buildings, taken on the whole, are less severe in character than true Roman or Grecian buildings, and therefore would seem to require a corresponding relaxation in the character of their painted windows. In my opinion, no greater mistake is committed than when a stiff Byzantine style of decoration is applied to the windows of a Palladian building. I have heard it defended on the ground that, since such glass would harmonise with the character of a Roman building, it ought equally to harmonise with the character of a Palladian one, because both styles of architecture have a common origin—in the old Roman: an argument which is at once disposed of by this remark, that the Romanesque style betrays its more immediate origin in the Greek character of its ornaments, and some of its mouldings, from which character the Palladian is free. I have also heard it defended on the supposed necessity of imparting a more religious air to a Palladian church. But surely there must be other and more legitimate ways of increasing the solemnity of a building, than by the introduction of incongruous ornaments and decorations, which oppress the architecture by their severity. Who would think of encrusting the walls of St. Paul's Cathedral with stiff Byzantine mosaics? I believe that it is amongst the works of the cinque-cento period that the true models for painted windows suitable for Palladian churches are to be sought. Amongst these works, as has been remarked, many varieties of design and character may be seen. Some are more solemn and grave than others, but the blended and comparatively undecided colouring of even the most simple renders them less solemn and severe than the ordinary works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In most matters of detail also, cinque-cento glass-paintings accord with Palladian architecture. So that, on the whole, the cinque-cento style of glass-painting, as developed in its best specimens, seems more suited than any other known style for the windows of Palladian buildings.

In adopting this style, the glass-painter, as before stated, is by no means confined to the use of pictures having receding backgrounds, but may use as flat a composition as a line of well-relieved figures, placed in front of a sheet of tapestry; or even, in small works, or in the accessory parts of greater works, he would find authority for the employment of well-relieved figures on perfectly flat-coloured grounds. The use of receding pictures

in painted glass in any building, of any style, has however been strenuously objected to; and the present seems a good opportunity of inquiring a little into the validity of the objection.

It proceeds, as far as I can understand, on two grounds—the first being, the supposed unfitness of the material for any sort of representation more pictorial than the mosaics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the second, the supposed impropriety of representing a receding picture on the wall of any building. In support of the first ground of objection, we are told that a glass-painting reverses the conditions of nature, by making the lights transparent, and the shadows opaque; that the violence of its colouring is wholly opposed to pictorial effect, and that to bound objects with black lines is reprehensible on every artistic consideration. The first of these arguments is at once disposed of by the observation, that we have nothing to do with anything but the *effect* of a glass-painting; and that when the material is, like that of the cinque-cento period, of a horn-like texture, the high lights do *not* appear to be less solid than the shadows.

With regard to the two other objections, I admit that they would be unanswerable if it were true that an artist was precluded from painting a picture under any other than the most favourable conditions. But to assert this would be to fly in the face of all authority—and what is worse, to contradict all experience. According to such a rule, Raphael was blameable for making designs, such as the Cartoons, to be worked in tapestry—"a mode of representation," says Sir Charles Eastlake, "which in the early part of the sixteenth century was far from exhibiting even the comparative force of colour, and light, and shade, which it afterwards attained." He should, according to the above rule, have condescended to no means of representation less complete than what oil-painting affords. Nevertheless, his availing himself of such restricted means of representation, which doubtless was imposed on him by some necessary condition, so far from being made a matter of imputation, has but increased the reputation of the artist. To use again the words of Sir Charles Eastlake,—whose admirable 'Essay on the Styles and Methods of Painting' should be carefully read by those who interest themselves in glass-painting,—"With a view to such faint transcripts (the tapestries) the great artist worked. He knew that his drawings would be transferred to them, and that in the tapestries alone, possibly, his designs might live. Distinctness was nevertheless attained without any sacrifice of such of the proper attributes of painting as were compatible with the

means employed, and without any violation of probability. When we consider the great qualities which were combined with these requisites,—when we find that such apparently unpromising conditions had the effect of raising even Raphael above himself, we can hardly refuse to admit, that a due employment of limited means of representation may at least invite attention to the most important attributes of art."[1] Unless therefore the conditions of glass-painting are so opposed to pictorial effect as to render the attempt to produce it nugatory, I can see no possible reason for an artist declining to fill the windows of a building with pictures in which the art of representation is carried further than in the glass-paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In many cases it might be extremely desirable that he should do so—for there are subjects, very proper to be represented in places of worship, which are either wholly incapable of representation in a simple flat style, or, when attempted to be so represented, only prove how easily the line which separates sublimity from absurdity may be overstepped. But when pictures in painted glass, representing receding objects, actually do exist, in the contemplation of which we forget the limited means the artist had at command, and in which excellences are discovered such as are unattainable except in a painted window, the ground of objection to which I have addressed myself appears to fail altogether.

The remaining objection, that it is wrong to represent a receding picture on the wall of a building, and consequently in a window, the glazed surface of which is but a continuance of that wall—seems to rest less on a consideration of facts, or the dictates of our external senses, than on a sort of mock philosophy, which seeks to escape laborious investigation by the enunciation of a "principle"—than which, by the way, nothing is more easy. It may be conceded that to carry a receding picture all round a room produces an ill effect. But pictures, though representing the effect of depth and distance even almost to illusion, are admitted to be allowable, provided they occupy only a portion of the wall, either by being hung against it in a frame, or by being actually painted upon it,—the latter sort indeed can plead the testimony of ages in its favour. If then a glass-painting should have the illusion of distance, it would be unobjectionable,—because, necessarily, it could occupy only part of the side of the

[1] 'Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts,' by Sir Charles Eastlake, p. 133.

room or building containing it. And as we are accustomed to see out of a building by looking through its windows, those who mistook the painting for a real object might easily stretch the imagination a little further, and conclude that it was some object placed outside the building, until its unreality became apparent from the figures continuing to remain motionless. But, in truth, I suspect that no one ever mistook the representation of any object in a painted window, not even a landscape, for the reality, or, except whilst his attention was exclusively devoted to the painting, imagined that his view extended beyond the limits of the building: a feeling which for the moment might be equally excited by the contemplation of a picture hung in a frame against the wall. The instant the glass-painting was regarded with reference to the building, it would be perceived to be nothing else than a coloured superficies, whose plane lay in the same direction with that of the wall in which it was inserted. It might indeed sometimes happen that, for the sake of preserving distinctness at a very great distance, a glass-painting, in which figures were represented on a flat ground, would be preferable to one having a receding background. But I think that the glass-painter need be deterred by no other consideration from employing a receding design, if he thought proper. Indeed, a glass-painting having a sky or landscape background, such as we meet with in good cinque-cento examples in general, would be peculiarly suitable for a window at the end of a building, on account of the retiring nature of most of its hues. I conclude therefore that in the preparation of painted windows for classical edifices, the artist has the choice of a more or less severe style of representation, to be used according to the character of the building he is required to decorate; and that the type of the one style is to be found in the remains of twelfth and thirteenth century mosaics, and that the type of the other is to be found in the glass-paintings of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The artist might, I apprehend, be guided by similar principles in preparing painted windows for buildings in the Gothic styles.

I have already stated my belief that the glass-paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are most in harmony with the architecture of those respective periods, and therefore think that such of those works as most consistently carry out the simple flat style of representation ought to be regarded, with but few exceptions, not indeed as objects to be reproduced in copies, but as guides to assist the artist in forming new and original designs. The principle of an ancient composition might be more strictly

adhered to now than at any former period, on account of the revived manufacture of the window-glass of the twelfth century; but this recommendation by no means would involve the necessity of copying the object itself. Indeed, nothing is more thoroughly opposed to sound sense and good taste than a mere servile copy of an ancient glass-painting, or a copy with such trifling modifications as to be little else than a servile copy. If intended as a counterfeit, it must fail in its object—for none but the inexperienced are likely to be deceived by it—and once known to be a counterfeit, it would lose all interest from association with by-gone ages. If intended to pass for nothing more than a copy, under the bonâ fide impression that nothing except a copy of ancient painted glass will harmonise with Gothic architecture, it serves but as a cover for indolence—it can advance nothing, because a copy is sure to fall short of the original in all real merit; and besides this, its production amounts to an unconscious satire on Gothic architecture, when we consider the imperfect state of the art of representation as displayed in ancient windows. The only true course is to treat every modern work in painted glass as an original work of the nineteenth century,—and as such, to test it according to intelligible rules of taste. The inquiry ought no longer to be confined to the narrow issue of conformity with some ancient authority, but should extend to a consideration of its intrinsic merit as a work of art, and its extrinsic merit as being in harmony with the architecture with which it is associated. To prescribe so wide a field of inquiry might, indeed, prove inconvenient to certain critics, but would certainly tend to a more zealous investigation of the principles of ancient art than heretofore, and to the production of works more worthy of the nineteenth century: in short, it is by this means only that any progress can be made.

A nineteenth-century window, designed for a twelfth or thirteenth century building, ought not only to harmonise with the architecture in the quality and treatment of its colouring, but besides restraining conventionality within due bounds, should likewise be free not merely from the bad drawing, but from the quaint and contorted attitudes of the figures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; attitudes which, however fashionable they might have been at that period, are shocking to our present tastes and feelings. It should, in fact, reproduce nothing but the art of that period, the genuineness of which will only appear the plainer, when the film of bad taste and deformity is stripped from it, through which we are now obliged to penetrate before we can fairly see it. I should

add that, in designing a window for a twelfth-century building, the artist can never do wrong in going at once to the fountain head, and correcting his taste by the remains of classical art, whose influence is so easily recognised in the glass-paintings of the 12th and 13th centuries.

A consideration of the colouring best suited for the windows of a fourteenth-century building presents an interesting subject of inquiry, but into this I cannot, for want of time, particularly enter.

The glazing of the fourteenth century, until about the year 1380, in respect of the quality and disposition of its colouring, holds in general a sort of middle place between the rich mosaics of the thirteenth century and the paler picture glass-paintings of the fifteenth; its individual colours being as cool, and almost, if not quite, as powerful as those of the thirteenth century, but being intermixed with a much larger proportion of white glass, and used in broader masses. But this difference in the character of the colouring seems attributable rather to the nature of the designs which became fashionable in the fourteenth century, than to any definite abstract principle. But however this may be, there is one lesson to be learnt from the works of the fourteenth century, if not from those of the latter part of the thirteenth, which is—that the glazing which chiefly consists of white glass is more favourable to the effect of window tracery than that which consists of a mass of intensely rich colours. For the latter tends to confuse the tracery, unless indeed the direction of the principal lines of the glass composition are strongly opposed to the lines of the stonework, in which case there is a sufficient contrast between the stone tracery and the deep-coloured glass to render the former perfectly distinct. Thus the mullions and tracery come out strongly in some of the clearstory windows at Bourges, and in the windows of York Chapter-house, where the glazing is principally white; but are not so easily made out in the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris, which are filled with richly coloured glass. On the other hand, the mullions of the southern rose at Chartres, which is likewise filled with richly coloured mosaics, show themselves distinctly—as appears from the diagram I now exhibit. Here the principal lines of the stonework diverge, like rays, from the centre of the window, whilst the principal lines of the glass composition form concentric circles; the star-like effect of this, and many other rose windows of the thirteenth century (the north rose of Notre-Dame, at Paris, is another example), thus being produced by the opposition of two distinct

designs,—one of which, the stone design, appears as if it were laid upon the other. If this consideration should lead to the conclusion that glazing principally consisting of white glass is best suited for the windows of buildings in the Decorated style of architecture, there can be little doubt, I apprehend, that the best designs would be those consisting of pattern-work painted on white glass, of which there are numerous and beautiful examples in the Cathedrals of York and Exeter, Merton Chapel, Oxford, and other places, with or without the enrichment of inserted panels, containing groups, or single figures, on stiff-coloured grounds, executed in the simple flat style before mentioned. I would on no account advocate the use of figures and canopies, because the stiff character of the colouring, which does not materially differ from that of the thirteenth century, is unfavourable to such a display of light and shade as is necessary to make the canopies seem as if they projected forward. I have heard the flatness of Decorated figures and canopies defended on the score of their resemblance to some of the published outlines of the German engraver Retch; but these outlines are only intended for near inspection, by which alone the varying thickness of the outline, which produces the effect of light and shade, can be appreciated. At a distance these designs would, of course, be invisible; or if enlarged in painted glass, as I have also heard recommended, would appear flat and thin—just as a copy of a fourteenth-century monumental brass would look if executed in painted glass.

The change in the nature of the material in 1380, or thereabouts, and the substitution of glass such as we see used in the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the deep intense tints previously employed, is, like many other points connected with the history of an art, one on which no light has hitherto been thrown. It is but a conjecture that the change was brought about by the glass-makers in Germany. But I think we may conclude, from the fact that glass-painting was becoming more pictorial just before the change in the material, and that it became still more pictorial after it, that the lowering of the different tints in depth was intended to second the efforts of the artist to produce glass pictures in preference to glass mosaics.

One is tempted to infer the existence of some harmony between the character of the architecture and the delicate tints and silvery tone of the glass of the fifteenth century, from their having been so long associated together. And, in one respect, the glass is no doubt well suited to the architecture; for even

the most elaborately painted window is, owing to the lightness of its hues, never confused with the stonework. And experience has abundantly shown that the effective pictures of the sixteenth century harmonize as well with the architecture of the fifteenth as the imperfect productions of that period. There is no apparent difference between the architecture of the windows of Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, and that of the windows of churches quite half a century earlier; and yet the sixteenth-century glass, with which these windows are filled, is in perfect harmony with the character of the building. I therefore think that windows for fifteenth-century buildings should be designed on the model of the glass-paintings of the sixteenth century; in which case the artist might consistently employ canopies, if he thought proper. The most splendid Gothic canopies in glass that I have ever seen, are in two of the windows of Munich Cathedral; one is dated in 1503. These canopies are so painted as to appear like what they profess to be—hollow niches.

As a general rule it appears more satisfactory that one scale of figures should be preserved throughout a window, than that the size of the figures should be regulated by the sizes of the lights they occupy; as in most Gothic examples. In the cinquecento period the uniformity of scale was preserved, not unfrequently, by the employment of angel boys, instead of full-grown figures, to fill the smaller tracery lights. At Fairford, and other places, the expedient adopted is the use of demi-figures in the tracery lights.

In the fifteenth as well as in the sixteenth century it was a not uncommon practice to extend the design of a glass-painting beyond the limits of a single light. In some instances the entire window is filled with a single picture, which is spread over the whole opening, independently of the mullions. So great an outcry has however been raised against this practice, that it seems worth while to say a few words in justification of it. In the first place, there is not, I conceive, a greater violation of principle committed in laying as it were the design of perpendicular tracery-work over the design of a fifteenth-century picture in glass, than is committed in laying the design of a thirteenth-century rose window over the design of its glazing. The stonework of the window sustains no injury of effect; on the contrary, it is rendered more distinct by the opposition of its design to that of the glass. Neither is the glass-painting injured by being cut by the stonework, for, as remarked by a member of this society on a former occasion, the force of imagination is

such, that the design may be preserved in all its unity through any number of lights: an observation which, I think, will be admitted to be true by those who have been in the habit of looking at such works with an unbiassed eye. But the practice may be defended on another, and perhaps less questionable, ground—on the score of necessity. Our ancestors were in the habit of representing in their windows vast numbers of legendary saints; but modern practice is in general so opposed to this, as in effect to limit the choice of the artist to representations of our Saviour, the four Evangelists, the twelve Apostles, occasionally the Virgin Mary, and some of the Prophets and Patriarchs. I believe that I am speaking within compass when I say that his choice does not extend beyond three dozen single figures. Consequently monotony is inevitable, unless recourse is had to groups of figures. Here indeed the means of selection is almost unlimited. Flaxman declares (Works, p. 331) that it may be affirmed, "without danger of exaggeration, that many hundred subjects are to be found in the sacred writings, which, being ably designed, would be *new* to the beholder." But in order to ensure a sufficient scale for the figures, the group must not unfrequently be extended beyond the limits of a single light. Upon the ground of necessity, therefore, we may well justify the carrying a glass-picture across a window, to a certain extent irrespective of the mullions. And I should perhaps add, that when we consider that painted windows by their size might not unfrequently offer a field for the talents of the historic painter, it seems unadvisable to scare artists from it by imposing conditions which were often broken through by the mediæval painters themselves.

In conclusion, I will repeat what I stated at the outset, that I claim no infallibility for any of the views I have advanced. I am conscious of having approached delicate ground more than once; especially in the course of my remarks on the sort of glass-paintings best suited for buildings in the classical styles. On this point I consider that I have but raised questions which wiser heads than mine must solve. My object will have been accomplished if I have added but one grain of information to the common stock; or if I have succeeded in proving that there is no mystery in glass-painting, that it is a branch of the Fine Arts distinguished from others only by certain conditions, and that the same sober rules of criticism equally apply to the productions of the glass-painter. To take a familiar instance—we sometimes hear it disputed whether the flesh ought to be

coloured or left white in a glass-painting; the opponents of tinted flesh urging the impossibility of imitating nature exactly in this respect. The answer is obvious enough. The whole colouring of a glass-painting is highly conventional, whether it be of the draperies, of the flesh, of the sky, or of any other object; still so long as it does not exceed the limits of conventionality—a point to be ascertained only by observation and general opinion—the eye and imagination are satisfied. We should be startled and disgusted at seeing flesh painted green or blue; but the complacency with which pink or white flesh in a glass-painting is regarded by the generality of mankind is a sufficient proof that neither of those tints contradict nature too violently, and therefore that the artist does not exceed the limits of conventionality in using either white or tinted flesh at his discretion.

The wide range of this paper, and the necessity of confining its length within reasonable limits, have of course compelled me to touch on several topics in a very cursory manner; and especially that relating to the actual mode of executing a glass-painting, on which the argument in favour of the mosaic system almost entirely depends. However, as I went into this subject at great length in a little work which I published in 1847,[1] and of which there is a copy in your library, I must refer those to it who are inclined to pursue the matter further. It may seem superfluous to those who have read this book to assure you that there is a perfect consistency between it and such views as I have just expressed; but, as certain writers are in the habit of taunting me with inconsistency, I may as well state that the only foundation for the charge is this: That, perceiving at the time when that book was written, that modern copies of the thirteenth-century windows, besides being very raw in colour, were, owing to the extreme pellucidness of the glass then in use, thin and poor in effect—the most favourable examples never having a more imposing air than a *veneer* of an old window might be expected to have—and that the process of antiquating the glass, that is dulling it over with the enamel brown in imitation of the effect of age, only produced dulness without imparting depth, I ventured to suggest the adoption of shadows, such as we see in cinquecento work, as well as a broader style of colouring than was used in the mosaics of the thirteenth century,

[1] 'An Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass-Paintings, with Hints on Glass Painting, by an Amateur,' p. 238 *et seq.*

as a means of correcting the flimsiness without destroying the brilliancy of the material, and at all events of giving *power* to the work; and that, since the manufacture of the twelfth-century glass has been revived, I have advocated a nearer approach to ancient precedents, both in the execution of the painting and the method of its colouring. I trust this brief explanation will finally dispose of the charge to which I have alluded; a charge which never would have been made, any more than the absurd misrepresentation that I have at any time recommended the universal employment of the cinquecento style, details and all, had it not been for those writers' ignorance of the subject on which they professed to write, and their consequent inability to comprehend any argument in relation to it which is founded on general views. To you, gentlemen, I am indebted for the patience with which you have listened to so long and dry a discourse.

X.

ON THE RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN MEDIÆVAL AND CLASSICAL ART, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE GLASS-PAINTINGS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

(Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, June 16th, 1856.)

IT may perhaps be recollected that on a former occasion,[1] whilst adverting to the harmonious agreement between ancient painted glass and ancient Gothic architecture, I alluded to the resemblance which the glass-paintings, contemporaneous with the architecture of the twelfth century and early part of the thirteenth, bore to the Antique; and thus I concluded, from their agreement with the architecture, that we might contrive to produce modern glass-paintings equally in keeping with Early Gothic architecture, and superior to the old ones as works of art, if, instead of merely copying these ancient remains, or perhaps barely correcting their bad drawing, we should strive to work up to those models of excellence which inspired the earliest Christian artists, and which have been admired, and, I will venture to say, will be admired so long as an appreciation of beauty shall continue to be a faculty of the human mind, although persons may occasionally be met with who seem to have been rendered insensible or indifferent to their merit by a too exclusive study of the Mediæval art. In the discussion which these remarks occasioned, the propriety of illustrating my views by means of a drawing was suggested, and I agreed to resume the subject whenever I was prepared with such a means of explanation. I

[1] See Proceedings of the Institute of British Architects, Session 1853-54, p. 21. (P. 207–209 of the present volume.)

have been prevented from fulfilling my promise earlier, but the delay is not to be regretted, since it has afforded me more time for consideration. Even now I would particularly guard myself against the supposition that the drawing produced pretends to be a perfect exponent of my views. To carry out those views as I desire would require far greater artistic power than I can command; and therefore I must request you to regard it not by any means as a finished design, but simply as an explanatory diagram.

The influence which classical antiquity exerted on the arts of the West, principally through Byzantium, has been repeatedly insisted upon, and illustrated by modern writers. In some instances we are almost able to see the very track by which such influence was transmitted; in others it is impossible to forbear ascribing much to the effect of local remains, the fruit of a Roman occupation; in either case it is difficult to discriminate between the work of native and foreign artists. Still, however, a common resemblance points to a common origin. A variety of causes may unite to render this resemblance more palpable on some occasions than on others. But the wider the experience, the more positive is the belief in the Byzantine or Greek character of Western art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

From this influence ancient glass-paintings are not exempt. They are infected by it in the same degree as other specimens of pictorial art. I am sorry I cannot corroborate by documentary evidence the opinion I have formed from the appearance of the painted glass. When and where the art of painting upon glass was discovered is still a matter of conjecture. The testimony of the earliest writer, Theophilus, by itself only shows that, at the time he wrote, France was, *par excellence*, the country in which it was practised. He tells his readers that they will find in his book "all the knowledge that Greece possesses in the kinds and mixtures of colours; Tuscany in inlaid works, and the various kinds of niello; Arabia in malleable, fusible, or chased work; Italy in the various kinds of vases, and the carving, enriched with gold and silver, of gems and ivory; *France in the precious variety of windows;* and industrious Germany in the delicate workmanship of gold, silver, copper, iron, wood, and stones." The Abbé Texier indeed—the author to whom I have had the most resort, because his inquiries are the most germane to my own pursuits—considers it probable that

the honour of the discovery is due to the Limoges school of artists;[1] and though his chief reason, the similarity of the process of enamelling to that of glass-painting, of itself is entitled to little weight, especially if the opinion be correct that Germany shared with Limoges the manufacture of enamelled ware, the leaning of my mind, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, is in favour of his opinion. Our not finding any specimens of painted glass earlier than the twelfth century or the end of the eleventh, and these nowhere except in France—so far, at least, as I am aware of—affords a presumption that earlier specimens never existed, and that the commencement of the manufacture was in France. And I have long been of opinion that the glass used in the earliest glass-paintings was made from Greek or Byzantine recipes, on account of its being so similar in texture and colour to the ancient Greek glass. Therefore (without, however, necessarily committing ourselves to the opinion that the art was discovered in France) I think we may safely conclude that it was discovered in Western Europe by some school of artists under Byzantine influence. Indeed, the very badness of the figure-drawing in the earliest examples, as compared with the excellence of the foliaged ornaments—and which, therefore, cannot be attributed, as in the case of the earliest Enamels, to any peculiar difficulty in the manufacture—is an argument in favour of the discovery being made by a school of artists as yet immature, such as a provincial school might be considered in comparison with that of Byzantium. And by way of accounting for the spread and intensity of Byzantine influence in France, I may mention, on the authority of M. Texier, that as early as 979 a Venetian colony was settled at Limoges, for the purpose of trading with the spices and other commodities of the East, conveyed from Egypt by way of Marseilles. Mr. Fergusson, in his very useful Handbook,[2] corroborates the supposition that it was with Alexandria that the Venetians had their closest connexion, though no doubt, as the great carriers of the Levant, they were, at that time, in frequent communication with Byzantium. To what extent the Venetians imbibed the Byzantine principles of architecture—in some degree modified by their commerce with Alexandria—is seen by a reference to their great church of St.

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[1] See 'Essai historique et descriptif sur les Argentiers et les Émailleurs de Limoges, par M. l'Abbé Texier, Curé d'Auriat.' Published in the Mémoires of the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1841, 1842. Poictiers. 8vo.

[2] 'The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture, by James Fergusson, M.R.I.B.A.' 2 vols. Murray. 1855.

Mark (a building remarkable, according to Mr. Fergusson, for being the only real specimen of Byzantine architecture within the limits of the Western Empire); and the churches of St. Front Périgueux (the erection of which is ascribed to the Doge Orseolo I., who came to sojourn in France in 978), Souillac, Angoulême, Cahors, Solignac, Fontevrault Abbey, Fleac, St. Hilary of Poictiers, and others, all at no great distance from Limoges, attest, in their general architectural resemblance to St. Mark's, how thoroughly the colony carried with it the taste and arts of the parent state.

The Byzantine school, thus implanted in France, was during a considerable period continually having its traditions revivified and corrected by the influx of fresh artists and new works of art from the East. Greek artists, it seems, were living there in the thirteenth century; and as late as 1421 an inhabitant of Limoges brought with him an artist to carve a resemblance of the Holy Sepulchre, on his return, by way of Venice, from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. If, then, glass-painting were a French art, having its cradle in or in the neighbourhood of Limoges, we should expect to find its earliest remains displaying Byzantine features, and, if so, the features more or less strongly developed of the Antique; and wheresoever the birthplace of the art may have been, I assert that its earlier remains do display those features. The most careless observer can hardly fail to be struck with the resemblance between the glass-paintings of towards the middle of the twelfth century, and the illuminations in the contemporary Greek MSS., or with the frequent recurrence in them of Greek ornaments; and the same general character may be traced in glass-paintings until quite the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century, when it gradually died out, before the increasing influence of a new style, of which the sculptures in the choir of Lincoln, to which Mr. Cockerell has directed our attention,[1] may be said to be an early and a favourable type. But the glass-paintings which, on the whole, most closely resemble the antique are those which were executed between 1170 and 1240, or thereabouts. I am not seeking to deny that these works were executed by native artists either in France or England; but I cannot ascribe, as some have done, their greater freedom and closer likeness to good models, merely to the progressive improvement of a school. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the change was in great measure caused by the

[1] Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at Lincoln, 1848.

influx of Greek artists, and greater aptitude on the part of their pupils to profit by instruction. The draperies, instead of being tightly wrapped about the limbs, and scanty in their proportions, as in the earlier examples, are more elegant and flowing, reminding one of the voluminous draperies of the Antique, which they resemble not only in the set, but the very form of the folds, betokening a material thin in texture, and, from its pliancy, allowing the action of the limbs to be easily seen beneath it. The heads, too, more nearly resemble the Antique in their contour. In one of the windows of Canterbury Cathedral, erected shortly after the fire in 1174 (the second window from the west, in the north aisle of the choir), are some heads which might have been copied from the old Roman. There are some similar ones at Lincoln, in glass, of the same date as that of the north rose, and now worked into it, though not belonging to it. There is also a strong resemblance to the Antique in the fashion of the garments. It is well known that the Romans had in great measure ceased to be the gens togata (Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam) even in the reign of the Emperor Augustus. The Lacerna, a cloak fastened on one shoulder with a clasp, and sometimes furnished with a hood, originally borrowed from the army, became, on account of its greater convenience, worn with the Tunic, as the ordinary dress of the Roman citizen; and, by degrees, the Toga was reserved for state occasions. After the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, a variety of additional dresses were used, many of them of Greek origin; the more stately of which were, with its usual tact, appropriated by the Church as it gathered power, and which are the foundation of the Mass vestments of the Roman clergy at this day. This has been clearly demonstrated by the learned Krazer,[1] whose accuracy, though it may have been painful to the High Churchmen, as showing the Pagan origin of some of the most sacred things, has never been impugned. Some of these dresses were, moreover, adopted in their courts by the barbarian conquerors of the Roman empire, and thus were handed down to later times. The Dalmatic, in which the effigy of King John in Worcester Cathedral is clothed, is an instance, and the modern Peers' state-robe is another. The most popular dress amongst those nations who possessed themselves of the territories of the Empire, no doubt, was the Tunic, with or without the Lacerna, or a shorter cloak used by the private legionaries, called the

[1] Krazer de Liturgiis. Augsburg, 1786.

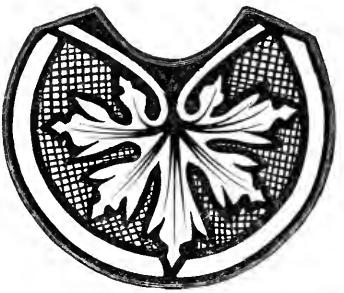
Sagum; and this dress, with slight modifications, appears to have been in actual use in the thirteenth century. The Mediævals almost invariably adopted the Tunic with long sleeves in preference to that with short sleeves, which was the one usually worn by the Romans; and instead of the Braccæ and buskins of antiquity, they clothed the nether man in long hose, over which they used shoes or long boots. So that, with the exception of the legs and arms being clothed, there is but little difference between an ordinary thirteenth-century figure copied from glass, and a figure taken from the Arch of Titus or Trajan's Column. The long Tunic reaching to the feet, so common in the glass-paintings of the thirteenth century, also had its prototype in Imperial Rome. The figures on the Arch of Titus show that it was at that time often worn beneath the Toga. Indeed, startling as it may appear, representations of the Toga itself are to be found in pictures on glass of the thirteenth century; and I have little doubt in my own mind that the mantle which, carelessly thrown over the long Tunic, constituted the conventional dress of prophets and of saints, not being ecclesiastics, throughout the middle ages, was, in fact, but a corruption of the Toga.

With regard to the Ornament, it is easy by means of the carved ivories (of which I perceive a Catalogue by the Arundel Society has just been presented to this Institute) to trace the transition from the Classical to that used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is so plain that the Mediæval artists borrowed their ideas from the Antique, which being so purely architectural and conventional is on that account I think the finest of all ornament, that I shall not urge the matter further. Indeed, the thing speaks for itself. I shall therefore proceed without further delay to deduce a few practical hints from the facts I have stated.

The question that naturally arises is, if glass-paintings, whose drawing so much resembles the Antique, completely harmonize with the buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, would not other glass-paintings equally harmonize with such buildings, whose drawing should more exactly resemble the Antique in point of excellence? I say in point of excellence, for I totally disclaim any intention of recommending the substitution of copies of Classical draperies or ornaments for Mediæval ones, or exchanging the individual character, and strictly human, as opposed to God-like, expression of the countenance, which distinguish Christian art, for the more generalized and conventional

treatment of the Antique. I wish to see the Christian sentiment elevated but not obliterated by a study of the Antique, and the Mediæval drapery drawn as the Mediæval artist would have drawn it, had he possessed the power of the Greek.

I am persuaded that, if the same tone of colour which we see in ancient glass-paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries be adopted, all archæological requirements will be satisfied by adhering to the costume of the period and general form of ornament, and preserving the individuality and character of the heads. Thus the attitudes of the figures, the arrangement of the groups, and general cast of the features, might be taken as closely as possible from the Antique, whilst the draperies should be treated as being thin in texture, voluminous, accommodated to the limbs, and moulded into deep simple folds. I believe that works executed upon this principle would often be taken for old ones of very superior quality. No doubt to achieve such works would require far higher artistic power than is generally now employed in glass-painting, and a vast deal more time to be bestowed on their preparation than is now required, all which would tend to increase their cost. But having confidence in the common sense of the country, I believe, if the matter were properly presented to their minds, that most patrons of glass-painting would prefer possessing one Picture window in a church, exhibiting a decent display of art, all the other windows being filled with good Pattern glass-paintings, instead of being content as now with having every window filled with the veriest trash under the denomination of Pictures. The present want of artists to execute such works is no argument against the system, since we may be sure that plenty of artists would come forward as soon as they ascertained that their services were required. If the system is correct, there can be no insuperable difficulty in working it out.



XI.

ON THE GLAZING OF THE NORTH ROSE WINDOW OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

(From the Archæological Journal, vol. xiv. 1857.)

THERE is no task more agreeable to the archæologist than that of recording the preservation of an interesting relic of ancient art. The painted glass in the North Rose of Lincoln Cathedral, which was observed to be in an insecure state during the Institute's visit to Lincoln in 1848, was, in the course of the year before last, releaded, and the stonework in which it is placed reset, at the expense of the dean and chapter. It is impossible to speak too highly of the substantial character of the repair; and as no "restoration" of the glass was attempted, what remains of the original glazing is likely to continue for many generations a trustworthy witness to the state of the arts at the time of its execution.

Having had an opportunity, during the repairs, of more closely examining the glass than I had before been able to do, and finding that my description of it in the Lincoln volume of the Institute's proceedings was in some respects inaccurate, I am induced to subjoin the following amended description, in which I have again availed myself of the diagram that illustrated my former statement.

No. 1. This picture is in a very mutilated state. It represents Christ. The head is youthful, but of inferior execution to the head of the figure in No. 16. It is adorned with a yellow nimbus, bearing a white cross. What remains of the figure is clothed in a red robe, and a white under-garment having yellow cuffs. The right hand is raised in benediction; it exhibits no stigma. The left hand is destroyed; it once held a book, which still remains. One foot is perfect; it exhibits no stigma. The body of the figure, with the exception of a small fragment of the white dress, is destroyed. The flesh-colour of the figure is

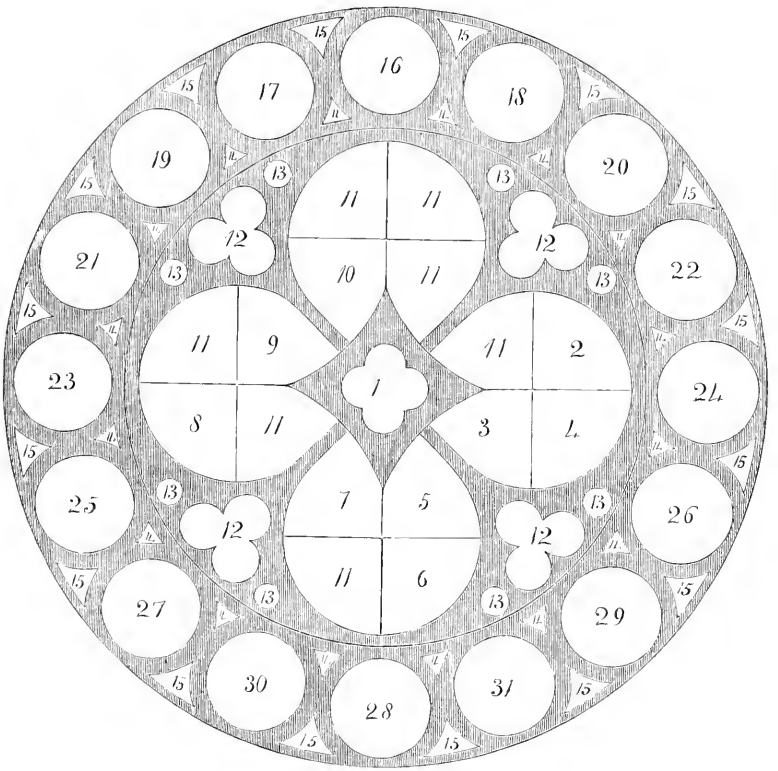
very deep, almost purple, as is the flesh-colour of several of the other figures.

No. 2 represents three figures seated in attitudes of adoration, and looking towards No. 1. The first figure of the group from the centre of the window wears a mitre.

No. 3. A similar subject. The group consists of a female and two male figures.

No. 4. A similar subject. The group consists of three male figures, the first of which is mitred.

No. 5. This picture is much mutilated. The group consists of three figures seated like the others. The heads are smaller than those of the rest of the figures, and are apparently insertions.



No. 6 represents a similar subject, consisting of two male figures and one female.

No. 7. A similar subject, consisting of three figures. The last of the group has the head of a monk; but this is an insertion.

No. 8. This picture is much mutilated. One figure only of the group remains. Part of a "Jesse" is inserted.

No. 9. A similar subject. The group consists of three male figures.

No. 10. A similar subject.

Nos. 11, &c. Each of these seven compartments is filled with painted glass collected from other windows, and mostly of a date somewhat earlier than that of the original glazing of the Rose. The subject of one of the paintings is the legend of St. Gregory.

Nos. 12, &c. Two of these four compartments contain each the figure of an angel swinging a thurible; the remains of a similar figure occupy the third compartment; the figure of the fourth compartment is lost.

No. 13. Each of these eight compartments contains, or did contain, a small four-leaved ornament in a circle.

No. 14. Each of these sixteen compartments contains, or did contain, a white star of six wavy points, on a red ground.

No. 15. Each of these sixteen compartments contains, or did contain, a red star of six wavy points, on a blue ground.

No. 16 represents Christ sitting on a rainbow. There is a candle on each side of his seat. The head is youthful, is bearded, and adorned with a red nimbus bearing a white cross. The figure is draped in white and purple. The stigmata are shown in both the hands and the side, but not in the feet. The picture is enclosed in a quatrefoiled frame, or border, composed of two bands, the innermost purple, the outermost white, at the angles of which are the Evangelistic symbols, thus arranged: the angel and eagle at top, the lion and bull beneath. None of these symbols is nimbed. A symbolic disposition of colour, such as is partially adopted in this design, is of rare occurrence in painted glass.

No. 17 represents two angels supporting the Cross, inscribed,—IHC NAZARENVS.

No. 18 represents two angels carrying the Spear; the head of which is formed of a piece of ruby glass, imperfectly coloured, and appearing as if it were white, with a trifling smear of red.

No. 19. Two angels, one carrying the three Nails and the Napkin, the other a thurible.

No. 20. Two angels, one bearing the Crown of Thorns, the other a thurible.

No. 21. St. Peter with the Keys, preceding five other figures, three of which besides St. Peter are nimbed. One of the figures

is that of a female seated and crowned, but not nimbed. The rest are standing.

No. 22. Seven figures seated.

No. 23. Two angels sounding the trumpets.

No. 24. A similar subject.

No. 25. Part of the general Resurrection; the subject represents the dead rising from their coffins.

No. 26. This picture is an insertion; it represents Adam digging, and Eve spinning. In the centre are the remains of a tall figure, or angel. The glass seems somewhat later than the original glazing of the Rose.

Nos. 27, 28, 29. These pictures are clearly insertions. Each represents a bishop seated, giving the benediction. The glass seems somewhat later than the original glazing of the Rose.

Nos. 30, 31. These pictures also are insertions. Each represents an archbishop seated, giving the benediction. The glass is of the same date as the last three subjects.

Amongst the fragments inserted in the North Rose are some trifling remains of the original glazing of the choir windows, which glass appears to be of the time of Edward I.

From the above account it appears that the intention of the designer of the North Rose was, to represent in the central part of the window the Kingdom of Heaven, under the type of Christ seated in glory amidst the blessed (many of these figures are nimbed); and to represent in the outer series of circles the Day of Judgment. The circle, No. 26, doubtless contained originally a similar subject to that in No. 25. And the remaining five vacant circles, Nos. 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31, were in all probability occupied with the Resurrection, and its usual incidents, the rescuing of the Good, and the abandonment of the Bad to the Infernal Powers. The mode of describing a connected story by means of representations of its incidents arranged in symmetrical order, so common in the medallion windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had its origin in remote antiquity. It is indicated in some of the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum.

The original glazing of the North Rose consistently with its character would admit of a date being assigned to it as early as the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; which, I believe, coincides very nearly with the date generally attributed to the stone-work. And it is on the whole a valuable specimen of the art of the period, although possessing nothing besides its general design which calls for particular notice. The

colours of the glass are very fine, being rich and brilliant, and low in tone, as compared with those of ordinary modern glazing. The blue, which is not so pure, and more resembles a neutralised purple than that commonly employed in the twelfth century, occasionally exhibits narrow streaks of red; by no means an unusual occurrence in thirteenth-century blue glass, denoting the presence of copper used to correct the rosy hue of the cobalt, some of which has unintentionally been converted into ruby glass. The white glass is of a sea-green tint, and the yellow (a pot-metal) is strongly impregnated with blue, the effect of the deoxidising influence of the carbon of the wood-ash used as an alkali, and of the smoke of the furnace, upon the iron contained in the sand, and upon the wood-ash, the constituents of the glass. Much of the ruby is very streaky and uneven in tint; some pieces indeed when seen near are only like pieces of white glass streaked here and there with ruby; although, owing to the intermixture of the rays of light, when seen from the floor of the transept, they appear as if they were of an uniform light red colour. Such of the ruby glass as has been painted upon, and therefore burnt in the glass-painter's furnace for the purpose of fixing the enamel—for instance, that used in the draperies—is usually more uniform in tint, and has a thinner coating of colouring matter than that used in the unpainted grounds: a circumstance which may often be remarked in glass-paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which perhaps may be accounted for in the following manner. It has been proved by experiments that the ruby colour is produced in glass by adding to the materials of white glass copper in a state of protoxide, along with oxide of tin, and other substances having a tendency to deprive the copper of its oxygen, as well as oxide of iron; and recent researches conducted by my friend, Mr. Clarke, have gone far to establish the fact, long since suspected by chemists, that the red colour is due to the presence of copper in the metallic state, very finely divided.[1] But whether it is metallic copper, or a precipitate of a suboxide of copper, which produces the ruby (the protoxide of copper only imparts a green colour), it is evident from inspecting a piece of streaky ruby glass that its colouring matter lies in several parallel planes separated from

[1] That metallic gold in a finely divided state will produce a red colour when held in a transparent medium, has been shown by Professor Faraday's experiments. See 'Proceedings of the Royal Institution,' vol. ii. p. 310. Glass coloured with gold is more pink in hue than that coloured red with copper. The Railway night-danger signal is generally constructed with the gold ruby.

each other by greenish or yellowish white glass,[1] and forms thin strata of an elongated character, varying in breadth from an inch or more to a mere thread; and that the streaky appearance is owing to the coloured lines in one plane lying in a different direction from the coloured lines in another plane, the complexity of the streaks being in proportion to the number of strata and non-coincidence of lines of colour. This may be accounted for by supposing that the red colour occurs when the oxide of iron, taking the place of the suboxide of copper, or metallic copper, precipitates the latter; and that, as this precipitation is irregular, the colour also is irregular; and that the mechanical action of blowing the glass into sheets causes these irregularities to take a streaky form, the more complicated in proportion to the number of planes in which the precipitation takes place, and the extent to which the soft glass becomes twisted in the operation. The precipitation of the copper by the iron depends upon a proportion of materials in the glass, the amount of heat to which it is subjected, and apparently to other causes with which we are not yet acquainted.

In general, the greater the length of time to which the glass is exposed to heat, the more the precipitation takes place, and the more fully is the glass coloured.[2] Those sheets of glass which in the manufacture show the least traces of colour, will therefore, in general, endure the greatest quantity of heat without becoming too dark. The thinner also the coating of coloured glass is, *cæteris paribus*, the less intense the colour will be.[3] It is probable that the experience of these consequences led the ancient glass-painters to select for the purpose of being painted and burnt such portions of the ruby-glass as were ascertained to have the thinnest ruby coating, in which no other change might in general be apprehended than the conversion of streaky ruby into smooth ruby, and a general though unimportant increase in the depth of colour. During the twelfth

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[1] Diagrams of ruby glass, seen in section, in which the laminæ of colour are shown, are given in the 'Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings; by an Amateur,' p. 22.

[2] Sometimes the same process will convert the red glass into white glass; but this is perfectly consistent with what is stated in the text.

[3] The thinly-coated ruby of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, before it is burnt, is streaky in colour, and its ruby coating when seen with the microscope is found to be filled with thin laminæ of red, like that of the thickly-coated ruby. The streakiness of the thickly-coated ruby is, however, rather more strongly marked than that of the thinly-coated ruby.

and thirteenth centuries, and in England until about the last quarter of the fourteenth, glass thinly coated with ruby is comparatively rare; the great majority of specimens of ruby having a ruby coating of a depth varying from one-fourth to one-half of the thickness of the entire sheet.[1] And there can be little doubt that the thinly coated ruby of this period, the colouring matter of which is about the thickness of a sheet of stout writing paper, was produced by some accident in the manufacture.

The smooth ruby which superseded the streaky in England about 1370, and in Germany a good deal earlier in that century, has a coating of colouring matter not thicker than a sheet of writing paper, which is almost always entirely converted into ruby in the first instance. This glass, therefore, either is not altered at all in colour, or undergoes but a very slight increase in depth of colour on being burnt; and for this reason the change in the manufacture was probably at the time considered as an improvement by the English glass-painters, who were then beginning to treat paintings on glass less as mosaics, and more like pictures. If they had continued to practise the older system of designing, they would have found the new material productive of a flatter and tamer effect than the old streaky ruby. But the change in the manufacture of the material exactly suited the change in the style of glass-painting which, in England, took place nearly contemporaneously with it. Some of the German glass-paintings of the first half of the fourteenth century, and most modern glass-paintings which affect so early a style, may be referred to as illustrating the truth of the above remark.

The actual painting of the glass in the North Rose, when compared with that of contemporary specimens, must be considered to be rather careless than otherwise. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to recognise in the drawing throughout, but especially in the draperies, the influence of Greek art, though not quite to the extent to which this is shown in the glass-paintings generally of the latter part of the twelfth century, particularly in those which, like some examples at Canterbury, may be considered to be of French workmanship. It would be unreasonable to suppose that the resemblance between ancient works in glass and the remains of classical art is accidental. As Gothic architecture originated in a style borrowed from the

[1] It is to be remembered that "ruby glass" is a "coated glass," *i.e.* glass which consists of a sheet of white glass coloured on one side with a coating of ruby, applied during its manufacture. Such glass is not *coloured* by the glass-painter.

Roman, and worked out by Greek or Byzantine architects, and that of the eleventh, twelfth, and early part of the thirteenth centuries, is evidently an exotic, the native of a southern climate, we might naturally expect to meet with the same Greek feeling in all other decorations as is so abundantly displayed in the sculpture of this period. It is probably to a connection with Byzantine art that the glass-painters of the twelfth century owe their superiority over those of the fourteenth; or, indeed, of any other time than the sixteenth. For through such connexion they could feel, although imperfectly, the influence of that standard of ideal perfection on which the art of the Greeks had the advantage of being founded. The closeness of the connection of these early artists with Byzantine art, and consequently the more immediate influence of the latter on them, will be easily explained, if, as there is reason to believe, France, and Limoges in particular, the ascertained abode of Greek artists, and a place in direct communication, through Marseilles and Alexandria, with Byzantium and the East, was the cradle of glass-painting; although the excellence of these glass-painters may be partly due to the vigour of race. But whether the connection of glass-painting with Byzantine art arose in the manner just indicated or not, or whether it was more or less direct, we may conclude that if these artists had had under their eyes that standard of excellence which is the foundation of Greek art, at however debased a period, instead of being able only dimly to perceive it through the corruptions of tradition, they might, in point of drawing, have anticipated the artistic triumphs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their works in glass, although not altogether free from the stiffness and severe formality of Byzantine art, in general exhibit a strong feeling for nature; but the nature these artists affected,—doubtless under the influence of their traditions,—was not a common and imperfect nature, like that represented in the subsequent works of the middle ages, but a noble, refined, and elevated nature, such as is displayed in the antique Roman bas-reliefs,[1] and again, in those great works of the Renaissance, which the discovery and direct study of these antiques so strongly promoted.

Considerations such as these are the best answer to the in-

[1] See the plates, 'Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum,' by Jacobus de Rubeis. The Roman sculpture, with much of the beauty of the Greek, is less ideal and more natural. It was this latter quality which probably rendered it more useful to the masters of the sixteenth century than the purest Greek sculpture would have been.

sensate outcry which has been raised against the employment, in the service of our reformed religion, of anything in the least partaking of the character of "Pagan," *i. e.* classic art, an outcry the less respectable when we know that those who make it the loudest are at the same time the most eager to palliate the many real paganisms which have been adopted by the Romish Church, some of which are by no means so innocent in their consequences as the denounced paganism of artistic truth and beauty. If we recognise the beneficial effect of possessing a standard of excellence in the perfection and freshness of the works of the Renaissance, which seem like the creations of yesterday, since, being wholly devoid of quaintness, they address us in the language of our own sympathies,—of our own modes of thought; common sense will suggest the wisdom of referring to such a standard in modern works, instead of, and in our own case without the excuse of necessity, continuing to flounder on, as in the middle ages, unassisted by such a guide. It is possible that this course might lead to the abandonment of the idea that nothing but that lowest of arts, the meagre Gothic of the nineteenth century,[1] is fit for the purposes of our Church; but we may console ourselves with the assurance that the extinction of the notion would be followed by the erection of buildings better suited to our ritual, to the character of our nation, and practical spirit of the age in which we live, as well as by the advancement of sound principles in art.

[1] Far be it from me to disparage any attempt to improve our national architecture; but although we may criticise the Palladian style, it by no means follows that we ought to set up the Gothic as infallible. Any scheme, indeed, for removing us from the art of the classic epochs is preposterous. No architectutal style can ever be a real living style which does not reflect the spirit of its age, and no style can reflect the spirit of this age, which is at once the most powerful and refined age the world has yet seen, except it be capable of great breadth, simplicity, and refinement; in all which qualities the Gothic style is notoriously deficient. It is impossible not to see that the civil engineers are the real architects of the day, and that they are silently developing a new and original style, founded on the old Roman, whose excellences it retains and enhances, but whose defects it avoids; and which seems to require nothing but fine handling to become a truly noble style, in all respects worthy of, and suited to, the nineteenth century. Although yet in its infancy, and although but little pains seem hitherto to have been taken with it, its productions, by their symmetry, simplicity, and grandeur, already often put to shame our most studied modern ecclesiastical edifices. They are, moreover, in entire harmony with other works admitted to be embodiments of the spirit of the age, such as our ships, our machinery, our bridges, &c. And the spirit in which they are conceived seems nearly allied to those broad and comprehensive views which characterise our times, and which, by contrast, render the narrow-minded subtleties of the mediæval era the more contemptible.

Charles Winston, del. Philip Delamotte Litho. Vincent Brooks

E. WINDOW. BUSHBURY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.

XII.

A LECTURE ON GLASS-PAINTING.

(Delivered before the Working Man's Association at Lichfield, 1859.)

ON the present occasion I shall not attempt more than to give a short and popular account of a curious and beautiful art—that of painting upon glass—not indeed from any unwillingness to go more fully into the subject, but from a conviction that it would be a wearisome and unprofitable task to bring forward a multitude of minute details, very proper for the due understanding of the matter, but which could not be fully apprehended in the short time at our disposal this evening, even if I were able to illustrate them by drawings, which I do not possess, and even if the neighbourhood afforded specimens of glass-painting of various dates with which you could be familiar, and to which I could refer in explanation. With the exception of the beautiful glass in the Cathedral choir, which is all of one period, there is no ancient glass in our immediate neighbourhood to which I can refer; so that I must content myself with an imperfect statement, and consider myself fortunate if I can contrive to add some trifle to the general stock of information, or suggest some idea which may not have already occurred.

By a glass-painting I mean a painting composed of glass or vitreous pastes, because no other materials will long withstand the action of the atmosphere; therefore I shall say nothing about pictures on glass, where the painting, or a good part of it, consists of ordinary colours mixed with varnish or other tenacious material, and which colours must peel off the glass as soon as the varnish or gum loses its tenacity, which it usually does in a few years.

A true glass-painting can only be effected by means of fire. Its colours must either be composed of coloured glass—that is, of pieces of glass coloured in their manufacture by the glass-maker, and not by the glass-painter—or must be imparted by

the glass-painter, by means of stains and enamel colours; and the shadows and pencilling of the picture must be painted by the glass-painter with enamel colour. And in order to cause the stain to be absorbed by the glass, and the enamel colour to be firmly attached to it, it is necessary to expose the glass to a red heat in a small furnace or muffle: this is done by the glass-painter, and is called *burning the glass*.

We often hear it remarked that such a glass-painter's colours are better or lighter than another's, that glass colours fade, that colours are burnt in, and the like expressions, implying that the glass-painter has something to do with the *colouring* of the glass. This, however, at the present time, in this country, is true only to a limited extent. The glass-painter can indeed, as I have stated, colour a piece of white glass yellow, by means of a stain, and impart many other tints to it by the use of enamel colours. But the employment of enamel colours to *colour* glass is now in England pretty much gone out of fashion, though still practised to a considerable extent on the continent. The ordinary method of glass-painting in England, at the present time, is to use for the coloured parts of the design glass coloured in its manufacture (staining such parts yellow as may be requisite), and to employ only one enamel colour—an enamel brown—for painting the shadows and pencilling the picture upon the glass, and not otherwise for the purpose of colouring it; so that, under this system, the glass-painter has little or nothing to do with the colouring of the glass. He buys the coloured glass as well as the white glass in the market, which is open to all alike, and his business consists in arranging and shaping the various pieces so as to correspond with the different colours of his design, in the manner of a coarse mosaic; in painting these pieces of glass with the enamel brown, so as to represent the shadows and pencilling of the design; in applying the yellow stain where necessary; in burning the glass to fix the enamel brown and cause the stain to operate; and, finally, in connecting the various pieces of glass together with leadwork ready to be put up in the window.

The enamel brown, like any other enamel colour, consists of colouring matter, mixed with pulverised glass, called flux or enamel; this flux being of a nature more easily fusible than the glass intended to be coloured melts, whilst the other is only at a red heat, and on the cooling of the furnace hardens and attaches itself, along with the colouring matter enveloped in it, firmly to the glass.

If the glass is not heated sufficiently to melt the enamel, or if

the enamel or flux, when cool, should by natural vicissitudes of temperature expand and contract in a different ratio from that at which the glass which is painted with the enamel colour expands and contracts, the enamel colour will, in process of time, peel or chip off. This incident has given rise to the notion that the colours of a glass-painting are apt to fade: it would be more correct to say that enamel colours are apt to become obliterated in patches. The colours, however, which are ordinarily employed, that is to say, the colours of coloured glass, never do fade, that I am aware of; the enamel brown may become obliterated, but the colours themselves remain unchanged and last so long as the glass which contains them exists.

The mode of making glass, whether white or coloured, is very simple and ingenious. To begin with the white: the materials, consisting principally of sand and alkali, are fused together in the glass-house by means of intense and long-continued heat, and the melted matter is formed into sheets of glass in the following manner: a workman dips one end of a long hollow iron tube into the pot, and collects upon it a mass of melted glass weighing perhaps nine or ten pounds; he then blows with his mouth down the tube and expands the mass into a hollow globule, larger and larger, until the sides of the globe are as thin as he intends the sheet of glass to be: when this is done, another workman approaches with a solid iron rod, called a *punt*, having a bit of melted glass at one end; this he applies to the side of the globe opposite the blow-pipe, which immediately adheres to the melted glass at the end of the punt. The blow-pipe is then disengaged from the globe, leaving a small round hole in it; this hole is, by means of the punt, which is now firmly attached to the globe, turned to the furnace, the glass is softened by the heat, and the hole is made wider and wider by repeatedly *trundling* the punt, until at last the whole globe of glass, yielding to the centrifugal impulse, flies open, leaving a circular plain disk, between four and five feet in diameter, attached to the punt by its centre. It is speedily disengaged and placed in the *annealing oven*, where the glass is allowed to cool very gradually, in order to render it less brittle, and when taken out the sheet of glass is ready for sale, being one of those circular tables which may be seen in any glazier's shop, and which has in its centre a lump or *bull's-eye*, being the remains of the piece of glass by which the sheet was attached to the punt.

This is one way of making a sheet of glass. There is another, which seems to have been the earliest method, and which is now

generally preferred, because it avoids the blemish of the bull's-eye and thickening of the sheet in its centre—defects inseparable from the former process. The globule of glass is blown as before, and a hole made in it opposite to the blow-pipe, without disengaging the globule from the blow-pipe. This hole is gradually enlarged, to the diameter, perhaps, of a foot or more. A punt, having a cross-iron or a circular piece of glass at the end large enough to embrace this hole, is applied to it; the blow-pipe is then disengaged, and the hole left by its removal is enlarged like the other, so that the piece of glass assumes the form of a cylinder: it is then disengaged from the punt and annealed. After this the cylinder is cut through one side, heated in a furnace till it is quite soft, and then spread open flat; when cool, the sheet of glass is ready for use: it is usually oblong. The improved method is to split the cylinder before it is put into the annealing furnace, and to use the annealing furnace as a spreading furnace, by which means the double heating of the glass is avoided. Nearly all the glass used for painting upon is made according to one or other of these methods.

The coloured glass is made exactly like the white glass (the colouring matter being simply added to the white glass whilst it is in the pot), with but one exception. There is one kind of coloured glass which is not coloured throughout the entire substance of the sheet, but on one side only, the rest of the sheet being white: this glass is called *coated glass*. For making it two pots of melted matter are required—the one containing *coloured* glass, the other *white* glass. The workman dips his blowing-iron first into the coloured pot and collects on it a lump of coloured glass; he next dips this lump into the white pot and envelops it with a mass of white glass; he then blows the whole into a globule, which he forms into a sheet precisely as has already been described: of course the sheet, when made, has one side coloured, the other side white.

Having thus described the nature of a glass-painting and the method of its construction, I propose to give a slight historical sketch of the rise and progress of the art.

The art of making glass, whether white or coloured, is of enormous antiquity, and it is one of those discoveries which was brought to perfection at a very early period. The early Ninevite, Egyptian, and Greek white glass, of which there is an abundant collection of specimens in the British Museum, is not so pellucid as that now manufactured, principally owing to our use of absolutely pure soda; but it is as good and perfect as the

glass ordinarily employed until about one hundred years ago, and the coloured glass is, I think, finer in tint than any that has hitherto been manufactured. I think it is even finer than the old mediæval glass of the twelfth century, which, of all later specimens, is that which most closely resembles it.

The ingenuity of the ancients in making ornaments in coloured glass has not been surpassed by the Venetian glass-makers of the sixteenth century, and their work continues hitherto unrivalled.

Mr. Apsley Pellatt has collected, in a little work called 'The Curiosities of Glass-making,' an amount of information respecting the skill of the ancients in making glass, that may be sought in vain in any other book: and to this little publication I would refer those who are anxious to pursue the subject further.

Yet with all this skill in blowing glass and modelling it; in excavating vases, like that of Sir Anthony Rothschild which was exhibited at the Society of Arts a few years ago, out of solid blocks of the material; they do not appear to have hit upon the art of making sheets of glass, fit for the glazing of windows, until a comparatively late period. I believe the oldest example of window-glass known is the specimen preserved in the Museum at Naples, consisting of panes let into a bronze lattice, which was found in an apartment of the public baths, disinterred during the excavations amongst the ruins of Pompeii—a city overwhelmed by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the fortieth year of our era.

I myself possess a small fragment of flat white glass, which was found in the ruins of a Roman villa in Kent, that is supposed to have been window-glass; and from the straightness of its *selvedge* it appears to be part of a sheet made in *cylinder*, as already described.

We may safely assume that the invention of window-glass, having once been made, always continued to be practised. There can be no doubt that the windows of the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople (now a mosque) were not only glazed with glass, but were even decorated with coloured glass. This is distinctly stated by an ancient writer: and the recent examination of this mosque by the architect employed by the Prussian government has brought to light the way in which the glazing was performed. It appears that a stone or marble frame-work was inserted into the window, dividing the opening into little squares, and that each of these squares was rabbetted for the retention of the glass. I do not think that any of the

glass was found in its original position, but it is easy to conceive how it was held in its place. There is nothing, I believe, to show that this glass was ever painted upon. The glazing may be inferred, from the ancient description, to have been simply a pattern of white and coloured pieces of glass, quite plain, and the pattern must have been a very stiff one.

At what time the art of *painting upon glass* was discovered must probably for ever remain unknown. It would be natural to seek for the earliest specimens in Constantinople, which providentially remained the cradle of the arts during the awful and wide-spread desolation occasioned by the overthrow of the mighty Roman Empire in the West in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. But Constantinople has, in its turn, suffered so dreadfully from the scourge of war, that little remains of its early magnificence, most of its great monuments have perished, and the works of art with which they were adorned have perished with them. Nothing, I believe, now remains in Constantinople in the way of ancient glazing, except the coloured windows of some of the mosques, comparatively of late date. But the mode in which they are constructed, though probably of Byzantine origin, is but a modification of the method adopted at St. Sophia. Mr. Burgess, the architect of the Memorial Church at Constantinople, showed me the other day a drawing he had made of one of the windows of the Mosque of Sultan Suleyman at Constantinople, which was erected early in the sixteenth century. From this drawing and his description the glazing appears to be of precisely the same nature as that of a window brought some years ago from Cairo by Mr. Bell, the late Member for Guildford, with which window I have been long familiar. The whole opening of the window is occupied with a pierced framework of plaster, the openings of which form a complete and varied pattern. The frame is moulded on the same principle as a common sash-bar, the ribs being worked off to an edge towards the spectator, so as to be deep and strong, and yet present, comparatively, but little impediment to the light. The back of the frame is level and flat, and upon it are attached with cement the little pieces of glass with which the openings are covered; the pieces of glass being either white or coloured, according to the nature of the design. None of these pieces of glass are painted, yet the plastic nature of the material, and consequent facility of working it, have allowed so many little notches and other irregularities to be produced in the frame as

really to supersede the necessity of paint; flowers, vases, and the like simple objects, being represented very intelligibly by the sash-bars alone, and the coloured glass inserted in them.

One great peculiarity of the glass employed in these patterns is its extreme thinness, which is less than one sixteenth of an inch. In its colour it greatly resembles the earlier specimens; a resemblance tending to show a common origin.

The first authentic account of *painted glass* that we possess is given in the treatise of Theophilus. It has been doubted whether this was written in the tenth or twelfth century. I incline to the opinion that assigns the later date. In it the writer minutely describes the method of making the glass, as well as the mode of painting it, and states that France is the country for painted windows. Of the truthfulness of Theophilus I can bear ample testimony, having for the last few years assisted some chemical friends in their analytical investigation of the manufacture of ancient glass. In every instance we have found Theophilus's statements, as to the materials and colouring matter used in glass-making, perfectly correct. Of course we have been able to explain and account for everything which puzzled him. But his recorded observations have proved most trustworthy. There is, therefore, good reason for believing that France was, at a period at least as early as the twelfth century, the cradle of glass-painting; and the probability is that Limoges or its neighbourhood was the principal spot at which it was at first practised. The Abbé Texier, in his researches into the early history of enamelling, for which art Limoges was always most famous, has proved that so early as 979 a Venetian colony was settled at Limoges, for the purpose of trading with the spices and other commodities of the East, conveyed thence by way of Alexandria and Marseilles: Alexandria then being the chief port through which the commerce and arts of the East (including those of Constantinople) found their way into the West: and he shows that Greek artists were settled at Limoges in after times. It would not be safe, of course, to jump to the conclusion that glass-painting was necessarily invented by the enamellers; but I think we may conclude that both arts were of Byzantine origin, and were imported into Western Europe in the way indicated. And this supposition derives some strength from the ascertained resemblance between the texture of the twelfth-century glass and that of the antique—a resemblance too close to have been accidental—and the thoroughly Byzantine character of the earlier glass-paintings in their design and drawing.

The earliest existing specimens of painted glass are not older than the twelfth century; and, I believe, the earliest *well-authenticated* example is not earlier than the *middle* of the twelfth century. It may be doubted if any specimen is more than a few years older than the middle of the twelfth century. The example to which I allude is in the Cathedral of St. Denys, and is supposed, from a portrait it exhibits of Abbot Suger, to be some of the glass which it is known that dignitary presented to his church in the middle of the twelfth century. It is executed according to the method described by Theophilus, which I have already mentioned; the colouring of the picture being effected by means of pieces of white and coloured glass, and the drawing and pencilling of the design being done with enamel brown. This glass of Abbot Suger is a type of a class which continued, with little variation, to be used in churches until about 1250—a period of about 100 years—of which there are numerous and rich specimens in France in the Cathedrals of Angers, Sens, Chartres, Bourges, and in others; and in England, principally in the Cathedrals of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Salisbury.

Painted windows generally may be divided into two classes—*Picture-windows*, where the greater part of the design consists of representations of the human figure—and *Pattern-windows*, whose design principally consists of an ornamental pattern.

The picture-windows of this early style are extremely interesting, both on account of their intrinsic excellence, and the manner in which they betray the connexion between the art of the middle ages and that of classical antiquity. They may be divided into three classes:—The *Medallion Window*, in which some connected story is told by a series of pictures set in medallions, which are arranged throughout the window in a geometrical order; the *Jesse Window*, in which our Saviour's Genealogy is represented by a series of figures encircled or enclosed within flowing scrolls of foliage; and the *Figure and Canopy Window*, in which is represented a figure standing under a canopy. The two first modes of design certainly had their origin in remote antiquity; the last, perhaps, can be hardly said to be indicated in some of the ornamental paintings at Pompeii. We see the medallion system in its utmost simplicity and quaintness in some of the Assyrian sculptures, and again, refined by art and good sense, in some of the Roman monuments, particularly on the Trajan and Antonine columns, where the events of a campaign are represented in a series of bas-

reliefs, wound in a serpentine manner round the shaft of a column; and again, on the Arches of Titus and Constantine; on the latter are some sculptured pictures in circular medallions.

There are also in the Museum of the Vatican some very beautiful bas-reliefs, representing figures encircled by flowing scrolls of foliage, which it requires but little acuteness to perceive are the type of the design of the Jesse window. And both forms of design were handed down from the time of the Roman Empire to the period of which I am particularly speaking —the middle of the twelfth century—by an almost continuous series of carved ivories and illuminated manuscripts.

It is not to be supposed that either the medallion or Jesse window at all approaches the art of the ancient Romans in the excellence of the figure-drawing, the natural yet refined character of the draperies, nor even in the distinctness of the composition. Unlike the tessellated pavements of the Romans, or the ornamental frescoes at Pompeii, and the tombs at Rome, both the medallion and Jesse windows are too apt to appear confused when seen from a little distance. The medallion windows, indeed, in general, seldom have their design more made out than that of a Turkey carpet, to which they are often likened—very truly as regards their effect—which is that of a mass of deep and vivid colours intersected by thin white lines, by which the principal divisions of the design are indicated. Instead of the figures being small in comparison with the panels, and the panels being well cut out by broad borders—to which is attributable the distinctness of the ornamental designs of Roman antiquity, and of the coloured ceilings of the sixteenth century, which were borrowed from them—the figures are large here in comparison with the spaces allotted to them, occupying nearly all the ground of the panel. The ornament is also large in comparison with the figures, and, though the grounds of the panels, and of the intermediate spaces of the window, are generally of different colours, the extent to which these grounds are covered with the figures and ornaments prevents their colours showing in sufficient quantities to produce proper distinctness in the design; and the manner in which the colours of the figures and ornaments are interchanged and scattered all over these grounds tends still more to produce monotony. It would seem as if the designers of these windows were more anxious to secure a good and imposing general effect of colour, than to give prominence to the figure part of the composition, so as to make the pictures tell their own story plainly and distinctly. But as affording

effects of colour, many of these windows are quite unrivalled; they are harmonious, and never raw or positive; rich, and never gaudy; deep and intense, and never flimsy; brilliant, and never heavy or opaque; and, of course, in all these essential particulars, contrast very favourably with their modern imitations. The secret of their success lies rather in the peculiar nature of the glass of which they are composed, than in the mode in which the various tints are arranged. Each colour, besides being deep, is harmonious in itself—an absolutely pure colour would be a curiosity if met with in twelfth or thirteenth century glass—consequently the effect can hardly ever be bad, in whatever way the colours may happen to be arranged. The depth and harmony of the colour qualities, so beautiful in themselves, rendered a highly finished style of figure-painting improper as well as unnecessary. If the figures had been highly and delicately shaded, the depth of local colour would have prevented their finish from being seen or appreciated; and the harmony produced by shading with enamel brown upon glass of different tints would have been superfluous where the tints themselves were originally so harmonious. Therefore these ancient glass-painters contented themselves with representing the deepest shadows with absolutely black lines, and uniting these with a very slight wash of shadow in half-tint, to prevent their appearing too harsh; and, in general, they avoided subjects which could not be intelligibly represented by a few figures arranged in one plane, like the figures in a bas-relief, and placed on a stiff background of blue or red, trusting to the glass itself to do the rest. It is hardly possible to conceive a style of execution better adapted than this was to the peculiar material of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and, however we may criticise the designs of this period, it must be confessed that the earliest style of glass-painting, viz. that which was practised until the middle of the thirteenth century, contains the germ of a true and noble style, a path of high development and striking effects; provided that the same material as that of the twelfth century shall be again supplied, and provided that—and this is equally essential—the task of developing the style is undertaken by artists of the first ability, having the power, as well as the will, to work up to that standard of perfection in figure-drawing which classical antiquity affords, and which, even at the worst times, seems constantly to have influenced the Byzantine artists and their immediate followers, instead of its being left to the efforts of mere draughtsmen, capable only of working down

to models which must now be considered imperfect or absurd, and are only interesting from our being able to recognise in them the art of a better period, in spite of the deformity with which it has been overlaid by the unskilfulness and corrupt taste of a rude age.

The design of the *Jesse window* is, owing to its nature, in general more distinct and effective than that of the Medallion window, though still very inferior in this respect to its classical prototype; and that of the Figure and Canopy window is yet more intelligible, as far as regards the figure, but the canopy is usually so insignificant, and so out of drawing, as often to be made out with difficulty.

The Pattern windows are always less rich in colour than the Picture windows. In general they are principally composed of white glass, on which are painted borders and scrolls of foliage. They often bear a coloured border all round them, and coloured glass is sparingly introduced into the pattern-work, to render its design more marked, and to enrich its effect.

These different kinds of windows often are employed together in different parts of the same building. In most cathedrals the Medallion windows are placed in the aisle windows of the nave and choir; the Figure and Canopy windows occupy the clearstory; and the west window of the nave frequently exhibits a Jesse. Pattern windows are mostly employed in the pierced triforium, where such exists, as well as in some of the windows of the apsidal chapels, where perhaps light was an object. Thus the windows having the most elaborate design are generally placed nearest the eye,—a happy and sensible arrangement. The large size of the figures in the clearstory may appear injudicious, on account of the tendency of the figures to overpower the architecture, and lessen the apparent height of the building; but this objection, though sound in principle, will hardly hold in practice, owing to the defective amount of shading in the figures, which, thus become less distinct than might be expected from their size, and present, in short, little else than an effect of colour.

The ornamental details of these early glass-paintings are very Greek in character. The foliaged ornaments are highly conventional in their form, closely resembling the architectural foliage employed by the Greeks, though less varied in their shape. Trefoiled and cinquefoiled terminations are the most common. It is seldom that a naturally shaped leaf occurs, and, when it does, its serrations are not represented by notches, but by carefully drawn curves. A decided preference for idealised form

characterises the works of this period. The same Greek feeling may likewise be observed in the figures and the draperies. In some of the earlier examples we recognise the peculiarities of the true Byzantine school in the classical contour of the heads, their staring eyeballs, and inanimate expression. But a more vigorous style soon developed itself; and, even so early as the latter part of the twelfth century we meet with figures in glass very closely resembling the old Roman, having heads quite of classical contour, yet full of character, and of varied expression, and only just sufficiently idealised to produce elevation of sentiment. The stiff, over-idealised, and inanimate Byzantine type was, however, retained until quite the middle of the thirteenth century in the representation of Divine persons, probably from an unwillingness to depart from established precedents in matters of such sacred import. The draperies of the earlier figures are also truly Byzantine in their closeness and tightness; but those of the later figures are easy and natural, yet, in the character of their folds, very like the old Roman. It is possible that they were copied from nature, and that their classical air is partly owing to the fact that many of the dresses used in the twelfth century, and, perhaps, early part of the thirteenth, were actually shaped like the Roman. Thus the tunic, or under-coat, of the thirteenth century is exactly like the Roman in form. Again, the military or state-cloak is the paludamentum of the Roman generals without any variation.

The Ecclesiastical dalmatic is the same as the state dress of the Roman Proconsul; and, as if for the purpose of confounding those enthusiastic moderns who are so shocked at any allusion to paganism, and who look upon the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the "Ages of Faith," we occasionally see in the works of this period the figure of a holy saint (no doubt copied from some earlier example) innocently habited in the toga, the ordinary dress of the ancient Romans. There is reason for supposing that the dresses worn in the twelfth century were made of materials very similar to those used by the Romans, which may account for the great similarity in the set and folds of the draperies of the two periods.

What I have stated respecting the early emancipation of art from the thraldom of Byzantine tradition, as exemplified in the glass-paintings of Northern Europe, may appear opposed to the general impression that modern art dates from the school of Cimabue, in the thirteenth century, but, in truth, the whole subject is involved in the greatest obscurity. Writers are prone

to generalise from a too limited collection of facts, and we must recollect that hitherto more pains have been taken to investigate the progress of the arts in Italy than in North Europe. I can only state the fact as I find it, without attempting to account for it. But the naturalistic tendency of the school of Cimabue in Italy, in the middle and last half of the thirteenth century, soon began to be felt in North Europe. We see it most strikingly exemplified in the ornamental decoration of glass-paintings from about the year 1260 downwards. The conventional Greek foliage of the earlier part of the thirteenth century was about this time gradually exchanged for foliaged ornaments composed of the naturally formed leaves of the oak, maple, ivy, and hawthorn; and the figure draperies became, in conformity with the new style, broader and simpler in their folds. I am afraid that the change was not attended with any benefit to the higher interests of art, for I much question whether anything more uninteresting and insipid was ever seen than the stereotyped flat features and screwed-up eyes which we meet with in nearly all glass-paintings between 1250 and 1350, the next hundred years of our history to which I am now directing your attention. I cannot but think that glass-painting gradually deteriorated from the middle of the thirteenth century, until it revived again, in a very different phase, in the early part of the sixteenth century; and that the greatest deterioration took place early in the fourteenth century, contemporary with the architectural style which is commonly called the early Decorated. It seems to me that the whole of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was spent in the attempt to get out of the early artistically flat style of representation, proper for stiff colouring, into a more pictorial style, requiring colour in broader masses and diminished depth; and that the greater part of the works of this period, and especially that of the earlier portion of it, must be regarded as transitional, and displaying those contradictory features which invariably present themselves on the abandonment of an established principle without any distinct view of that which is to succeed it. I am not asserting that the glass-painting of this period has not its good points; all styles have their beauties; but if consistency of principle be a mark of a good style, then the glass-painting of this period is far inferior to that of the immediately preceding and succeeding periods.

A great change in the design of glass-paintings was rendered necessary by the general adoption of the mullioned window, and consequent use of openings extremely narrow in proportion to

their height. The medallion window, which requires a width of some four or five feet for its due development, was speedily abandoned, and the expedient was adopted of combining the picture with the pattern-window by introducing across the lower lights of a white pattern-window two or more rows of panels containing pictures, as well as filling the tracery lights with coloured figures and ornaments. Sometimes these panels, like medallions, simply contained groups of figures on stiff-coloured grounds, as in the chapter-house windows at York; more commonly the group was put under a canopy or shrine, as in the nave of York, which had the effect of reducing the size of the figures and making the picture indistinct; whilst the canopy, though complicated in construction, was drawn and coloured in such a way as to appear as if it had been *ironed out flat*—the depth of the niche and projections of the tabernacle work being alike unrepresented.

The Pattern-window continued in use, each light of the window being surrounded with a coloured border, and the remainder filled with white glass, on which was drawn in black a geometrical pattern with flowing scrolls of foliage. The Figure and Canopy window was also common, each lower light having a figure and canopy in it, the canopy having the same defects that have just been noticed; and the Jesse window was much employed: of this, the scrolls generally extended from one light into another; so that the whole of the lower lights were filled with one connected design. In like manner, on the Continent, canopies and groups were spread from one light to another. But this practice was not followed in England: the usual method here was, to divide the group into several portions; to put each under a canopy, and confine it within the limits of a single light: thus, what was in fact but a single picture looked as if it were three or more distinct pictures, each portion being complete in itself, and separated from the others, not so much by the mullions of the window as by its pictorial accessories.

The colouring of this period was almost as deep and powerful as that of the last period; but the discovery of staining white glass yellow, which seems to have been made about 1310, tended very much to cause yellow to be used to the exclusion of some other colours. Indeed glass-paintings, as early as about 1350, are remarkable for the quantity of white and yellow stained glass in their composition, as is the case with the east window of Gloucester Cathedral choir. At first the arrangement of the figures in the groups was simple, like that of the former

GERMAN GLASS

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE LORD HERBERT OF LEA.

C. WINSTON. LEIGHTON, BROS.

FROM NORTH AISLE, STANFORD CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

age; but by degrees the figures were made to overlap one another more; and the same flat style of execution being persevered in, the consequence was, that the groups became far more confused and indistinct than the earlier ones, which were more cut out and insulated by means of the ground of the panel. In general, the individual colours were disposed in broader masses than heretofore,—a peculiarity which was still more remarkable in the next style, to which I shall now allude, and the remarks upon which will carry us down to the end of the fifteenth century.

About 1360 or 1370 a remarkable change took place in the manufacture of the glass, and this was simultaneous with a great change in the mode of painting it. As late as 1350 there was but little deviation from the earliest mode of painting; black lines represented the deep shadows, and a very slight wash of enamel work indicated the shadow in half tint. But after this the lines diminished in thickness and intensity, and were retained only as outlines; the deep, as well as the light shadows being represented by a stippled coat of enamel brown. Indeed, the only real difference between the execution of the imperfect glass-paintings of the end of the fourteenth century and the perfect ones of the sixteenth was, that in the latter the shadows were deeper and more skilfully applied. In the works of both periods shadows were represented by stipple shading, black lines being only used for outlines. This mode of execution was, of course, more pictorial than that which had preceded it; and the change in the manufacture of the glass to which I have alluded, which principally consisted in making the colours brighter and less positive, enabled the more delicate and finished execution to be fully seen, and offered greater facilities for a more pictorial and less mosaic style of colouring.

The Figure and Canopy window was the favourite design of the period of which I am now speaking; the form of the window openings during the Perpendicular style of architecture particularly favouring it. A single figure and canopy commonly filled each lower light, with or without a small subject beneath, such as a coat of arms, or a group of figures, usually representing the donor of the window and his family: and each of the upright tracery lights was occupied with a smaller edition of the figure and canopy. Windows of this description, partly owing to their being executed with light and delicately finished shading, and to the proportion of white glass in their composition, always have a particularly pleasing silvery appearance. They want the

force of the earlier windows, but they are more delicate and refined. Their design is also distinct, owing to the way in which the figure is cut out by the coloured back of the niche, and to the canopy itself being almost entirely white and yellow-stained. Their great defect is their flatness. Though considerable pains were taken by shading, and even by an attempt at perspective drawing, to give projection to the canopy hood, and rotundity to the figure, these old artists totally failed in their object, partly through their timidity in applying shadow in sufficient depth, partly through their ignorance of the true effects of light and shade, and partly, I may add, through their ignorance of the principles of correct drawing. Instead of the picture aimed at, nothing was produced but a pleasing silvery effect of colour. This defect is still more palpable in another very common design of this period, consisting of three or more shrines, with groups of figures placed under them, piled up one above the other in each of the lower lights of a window.

We learn from these examples that there are but two ways of producing a picture on glass—either with skilful shading, where there is no particular attention paid to the position of the objects to be represented; or with comparatively little shading, in which case it is essential that the figures should be well cut out and separated from each other by a coloured ground. For, as I said, the general distinctness of the Figure and Canopy design is entirely owing to the latter principle being adhered to, though accidentally. The confusion inseparable from the use of small groups under shrines executed with so little shading, and without attention to the placing of the figures—of which the great east window of York affords a striking example—is owing to the figures being designed so as to overlap one another, and to their not being relieved from each other by a proper application of light and shade. Windows so constructed look, at a little distance, like a mere collection of pieces of glass of different colours; and even when closely examined, it is sometimes not easy, at first, to detach the figures from their shrines, and make out the composition.

The Jesse window continued to be employed, but there is nothing which calls for remark upon it. The Pattern-window had dwindled down to the simplest of all compositions, being composed of quarries of white glass, with some little ornament painted on each, and having a border round the light with a little colour in it.

We are all aware that the middle of the fifteenth century is

famous in the history of art, as the era from which we date the commencement of our modern system. It was at this time that a new light broke in upon the minds of the Italian artists as to the true method of representation, and the great truths demonstrated by the paintings of Masaccio and others continued to be elaborated during the whole last half of the fifteenth century and early part of the sixteenth, until painting reached its perfection under such geniuses as Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, and the other masters of the sixteenth century.

The great improvement which took place in the middle of the fifteenth century was perhaps not so much in drawing as in the art of producing the effect of nature in light and shade. Before the time of Masaccio oil-paintings, though very often beautifully drawn, were flat in effect, and consequently confused, like those glass-paintings to which I last alluded. He seems to have been the first who noticed how little Nature was observed, and how little the power of art was developed, in paintings where perspective and light and shade were disregarded. And the hint was not given in vain.

About the same time a standard of perfection hidden from the mediæval artists was brought to light by the discovery of the antique sculptures at Rome, and artists once more beheld the human figure in its utmost beauty in forms now rendered familiar by means of casts,—forms in which we see our nature in spotless purity, innocent and sublime, and such as we may imagine those of our first parents to have been.

The discovery was well timed. All prejudice against these ancient works, on account of their pagan origin, had long ceased with the extinction of paganism: they fell into the hands of men capable of appreciating them, and the monuments of a false religion became the means of enlisting on the side of truth all those sympathies which it is the province of the highest and most refined art to excite. Really I am not surprised that the period of the "Revival of Art," or the "Renaissance," as it is variously termed, should always be regarded with such enthusiasm, by all, indeed, but a very small knot of modern writers, who, I am persuaded, will never obtain popular sympathy. For "Modern Art," as it is called by the writers of the sixteenth century, by way of distinction from the dry and imperfect mediæval art, is inseparably connected with some of our most pleasing reminiscences—with the conviction that about the end of the fifteenth century the human race in Europe got a fresh

start. Men's minds then became expanded; and a spirit of inquiry arose, before which the trammels of superstition, and the false reasoning of the mediæval era, were dissipated like mist before the sun. Broad views began to be taken in other matters besides art; the foundation was then laid of modern liberty, and of modern philosophy, to the united effects of which as well the present material prosperity, as the higher intellectual and moral culture of this country can be clearly traced. People who attempt to revive mediæval usages and mediæval art seem to overlook the great fact that the invention of printing, the Reformation, and Lord Bacon's works, have separated the nineteenth century from the middle ages by an impassable gulf.

As might be expected, the improvement in art, to which I have alluded, was not confined to Italy, but extended its influence to Flanders, France, Germany, and this country, and glass-painting in all these countries, for a short period, felt the benefit of it. We see a vast improvement in the glass-paintings executed in the early part of the sixteenth century, both in drawing and in light and shade; and the improvement was progressive until about the middle of the century, when the very causes which had tended to its elevation, being pushed too far, occasioned its decline. Considered as a pictorial art, glass-painting seems to have reached perfection between 1530 and 1550: it is perhaps not too much to say that its decline commenced as early as 1545. But to justify this assertion I must, with your indulgence, enter a little into matter of detail.

Every species of representative art, whether oil-painting, water-colour-painting, fresco, tapestry, mosaic-work, or glass-painting, must, of course, be carried into effect by the use of certain materials, and the criterion of the proper mode of using such materials is, that it displays their good qualities, and conceals their defects, as much as is compatible with their employment. Thus in glass-painting the good quality of the material, glass, is its transparency—a quality which makes colours more vivacious and brilliant than the colours of any opaque material. The defectiveness of glass is its brittleness, and the impossibility, in our present state of chemical knowledge, either of painting a piece of glass with a variety of colours individually as bright as the colours of glass tinted with them in its manufacture, or of fastening a number of pieces of coloured glass together except by means of a metallic and consequently opaque framework; and also its limited scale of colour, if coloured glass alone is

used, and the impossibility of representing on it an amount of deep transparent shade equal to that which we see in oil-paintings, particularly in those of the Venetian school.

The necessity of leading a glass-painting together is one of those conditions which cannot be evaded by any ingenuity. The lead-work and saddle-bars must be accepted as necessary parts of the composition. The design must be made with reference to them, and that glass-painting must be acknowledged to be the best which admits of the leads being thrown into the outlines, and made to serve as outlines; and which by the simplicity, I might almost say roughness, of its design and execution, prevents the harshness of the saddle-bars from being obtrusive. In this respect the glass-paintings prior to 1550, and until the eighteenth century, must be considered superior to those later works in which the attempt has been made to ignore the leads and saddle-bars, by leading the work together in squares independently of the outlines of the composition, or by twisting the saddle-bars so as to avoid their cutting the design at regular intervals; because both methods immediately suggest the idea of a blemished picture, and make us immediately perceive how much better the work would be without leads or saddle-bars. But a window cannot be constructed without them: hence it is better to adopt them as essential parts of the design; and the beautiful windows of the choir of this cathedral, which bear date between 1532 and 1539, show that a design so constituted is compatible with high pictorial effect. Again, another condition, which must be particularly observed, is the preservation of the transparency of the material to the greatest extent consistent with the production of a picture. Whatever the amount of shading, there must be a great deal of clear high light,—that is to say, the glass, in the high lights of the picture, must be left clear and untouched with any enamel colour. To subdue or lay down those high lights is at once to deprive a glass-painting of its chief beauty, its brilliancy and transparency, and to reduce it to the appearance of a bad oil-painting, because, however it may be made to vie with an oil-painting in drawing and composition, it must always be inferior to an oil-painting in the nice gradations of tone and tint, and in that clear-obscure liquid shade which can be given with such astonishing fidelity in an oil-painting; besides that it is more like a sketch than a finished work, on account of the decided manner in which the outlines of objects are defined by the leads. In this respect again I would submit that the glass-paintings of the middle of the sixteenth

century are superior to subsequent works. In the most highly-finished of them, like the glass in this cathedral, there is always abundance of high lights left clear in the glass. These high lights are indeed, to a certain extent, now obscured in the glass of the cathedral by the decomposition of the material from long exposure to the weather: but I am speaking of these works as they issued from the painter's studio. There are plenty of other glass-paintings in existence, of the same date as these, which, owing to more favourable circumstances, have preserved the surface of their material, and which consequently enable us to form an opinion of the original effect of other works similarly executed.

To what extent shading ought to be carried in glass is a question which receives its best solution in the rule which imposes on every representative art the necessity of its suggesting no defects. And here again we recognise the greater skill of the artists of the middle of the sixteenth century as compared with that of their successors. I have mentioned the impossibility of representing in a glass-painting that amount of clear deep transparent shade that one sees in an oil-painting. For want of this power many subjects are wholly unfit for a glass-painting; and the artists of the middle of the sixteenth century, with that common sense which usually denotes uncommon knowledge, invariably declined to represent such subjects. They confined their selection of subjects to groups of foreground figures, using the background merely as an accessory; they did not shade their pictures up to a point, like the Venetian oil-paintings, but, at the expense of unity of composition, represented the figures as if seen under the influence of broad sunshine—the figures at the extremities of the group thus having the same force of light and shade upon them as those in the centre of the group. They were well aware of the great effect of shadow in giving distinctness and force to a design; but knowing the defectiveness of glass as a medium of shade, they took care to confine their shade within small limits. Thus they were very fond of architectural backgrounds to their groups, because the soffits of the arches gave them the opportunity of introducing very decided shadows, though of limited extent—shadows which had the effect of separating the foreground from the background, and giving relief and distance. These and many other devices for concealing the defectiveness of glass, such as the avoidance of foreshortened figures and the like, will be easily perceived on looking at the choir windows of this cathedral, which are perhaps the finest

specimens of pictorial glass-painting in the world. Compare them with the dull heavy works of the last century, in which the conditions of glass-painting are wholly overlooked,—as, for instance, the great west window of New College, at Oxford, painted from a magnificent design of Sir Joshua Reynolds, but one unfortunately wholly unsuited for the purpose of a glass-painting,—and I think you will agree with me in preferring the glass-paintings of the first half of the sixteenth century to the later examples. Yet let us not condemn the authors of those later works as men of unartistic mind. They were, on the contrary, men of high artistic attainments; they fully appreciated the obligations of glass-painting to oil-painting: the rock they split upon was their overlooking the peculiar conditions of glass-painting—the difference between a painting which transmits light and one that reflects it. In endeavouring to make glass-painting rival oil-painting in all respects, they attempted an impossibility, and therefore their works, notwithstanding their high artistic merit, are ineffective as compared with those of the middle of the sixteenth century.

The latest windows that I am acquainted with, executed precisely as these of Lichfield, are the windows of the transepts and of the north aisle of the choir of Brussels Cathedral. They are all dated between 1540 and 1549; they are coarser in execution than these, but are most effective. Indeed I do not know any works in glass which are so powerful, without in the least degree violating the essential conditions of the art. But immediately after the middle of the sixteenth century, and in France even a little before, we see the attempt to carry the art beyond its legitimate limits. The windows of Gouda Church, in Holland, magnificent compositions though they be, which were all executed between 1555 and 1603, are already affected by the change; and the windows in the south aisle of Brussels Cathedral, which were executed in the seventeenth century, though very fine as artistic compositions, are yet wrong both in design and execution. Great effects of light and shade, as in Rubens' pictures, were here attempted, at the expense of the material, which looks flimsy in the light parts of the picture and dull and flat in the shaded parts. It is only necessary to compare these windows with those on the opposite side, to which I have alluded, to be sensible of the great superiority of the principle upon which the latter are designed and executed. Soon after this glass-painting seems to have greatly grown out of fashion. Works occur only at intervals, and these are executed

on the principle of an ordinary oil-painting, the composition being shaded up to a point and enamel colours used profusely, either to heighten the coloured glass, or more commonly in substitution of it. At length coloured glass almost ceased to be made or used. With the exception of a fine window by Price, in the church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in which some attention is paid to the earlier system, all the great works executed in this country are done with enamel colour; as the window at New College, Oxford, and the great east window and south window of the aisles of St. George's Chapel, Windsor—all which resemble bad and dingy paintings, or weakly-coloured window-blinds, though their composition is artistic and the execution careful and refined. In France and Germany what little glass was executed was done in the same manner.

So matters remained until the revived taste for mediæval art, which commenced here and abroad about thirty years ago, a taste which in this country undoubtedly received a great impulse at first from the writings of Sir Walter Scott, and of late years from the efforts of a small but active party, who seem to have made use of the popular feeling as a means to an end—that of reviving religious forms and ceremonies calculated to lead men's minds towards the Church of Rome,—forms and ceremonies which, though not actually condemned at the reformation, can hardly be said to be in harmony with it, and were on that account wisely dropped by tacit consent in the course of the last two centuries.

In France and Germany the revival has spread more for the sake of art than from any particular religious sentiment; and therefore in both countries it has been more conducive to the interests of art than with ourselves. In no branch of art has this been more remarkable than in glass-painting.

The French, like ourselves, have done little else than take up glass-painting archæologically, and copy old works, though with, it must be admitted, far greater success in point of fidelity of imitation than the English glass-painters. But in Germany the movement has been an artistic one, and has borne great fruits. At Munich, glass-painting has for years past been carried on as a fine art, by some of the greatest artists in Germany, in conjunction with a revived style of architecture, not Gothic, but a style more severe, yet as symmetrical, magnificent, and refined, as that of the sixteenth century. To say that glass-painting is correctly practised by the Germans is what I cannot do, but I will say, that in point of real art, there are no modern

glass-paintings in the world to compare with theirs for one moment. The defectiveness of their practice is deep and perhaps inveterate,—not only do they paint up their glass with enamel colours (using however coloured glass for their colours) to such an extent as to almost destroy its transparency, but they seem to lose sight too much of the contrasted style of arranging colours in ancient glass, and of the use of violent contrasts of light and shade, which give the old cinque-cento glass-paintings their power and vivacity; and to pay too much minute attention to blending the several local colours, by which an harmonious effect is produced at the expense of vigour and force. I am aware that the German artists deny their practice of dulling down their pictures to be voluntary, and that they excuse it by a desire to obtain the harmonious effect of old glass, and to obviate the flimsiness and excessive pellucidness of the modern material. But one does not see why, if sincere, these artists, with Royal patronage to back them, should not attempt to make glass like the old. For it is in the glass-house, and in the glass-house alone, that we can hope for any real improvement in the effect of glass-paintings. It is a fallacy to ascribe the harmony of ancient glass to the effect of age. Age does harmonize glass to a certain extent, but nothing can supply the want of harmonizing coloured glass.[1]

Still, nothing can supply the want of art: and I fear the present depraved state of glass-painting, in this country, is far more attributable to this want than to that of good glass—else our glass-painters would not be so inferior to the Germans. But, however this may be, I declare that the state of glass-painting is in England, at the present moment, worse than it has ever been at any other time or in any other country. With the enormous expenditure of late years upon painted windows, we are the laughing-stock of foreigners; and if a great artistic work is required, there is no choice but to go to Munich. This has been the decision of the noblemen and gentlemen who have subscribed for the painting of the windows of Glasgow Cathedral. And though they have been much blamed for it, there can be no doubt that they are right. It is idle to say that they are to wait until the establishment of a native school capable of such works. The best patronage in the end is that which always chooses and pays for the best article wherever it can be obtained, in matters of art as well as in matters of merchandize.

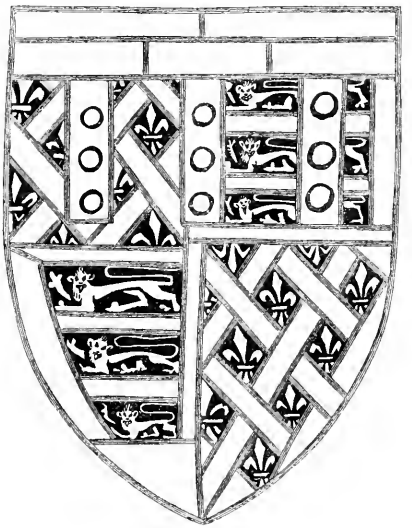
[1] On the recently altered Munich practice see before, pp. 50, 54.

Some English glass-painters have, it is true, lately started, and it appears that they intend to rival the German artists; but their performance as yet has been only such as to make us think that the Germans are likely to maintain their superiority.

The truth is that glass-painting has got into bad hands. The growing archæological and hierarchical view taken in this country by "the movement" has had a retrogressive and not a progressive tendency. Patrons and amateurs have been caught with details, and have not looked one inch beyond them; consequently artists have not come into the field; but they have left the archæology and details to be done by draughtsmen; and there has been no employment, as in Germany, of artists of as high a reputation as our Royal Academicians. It is to be hoped that people will at last grow sick of archæology, and ask themselves the plain question, whether in matters of religion we ought to be archæologists at all, or, if archæologists, whether we should not carry our archæological associations to the earliest period of Christianity,—to a period of art which was accepted in the sixteenth century, and the influence of which, acting upon the gothic element in our natures, made christian art and architecture what we see them—the art, higher in true christian sentiment than it ever was at any period of the middle ages; and the architecture, as refined as the Roman, yet as varied and picturesque as the gothic. I am not ashamed to say that I have no sympathy with the "movement" in the sense in which the phrase is at present accepted. No man wishes more sincerely than I do to spread the blessings of christianity, and to afford to all the opportunity of public worship; but I do think that we should do wisely to turn our backs on the middle ages and their associations,—to accept the reformation as a great fact, which it is our duty not to discourage, but to carry out; renouncing both the romanticism of the middle ages, which none of us really feel, and those things which remind us of the mediæval Church, the errors of which we have long since abjured. And I believe that, acting as we then shall, in the spirit of the nineteenth century, the opprobrium will soon cease, that, though giants in science and practical skill, we are dwarfs in art, especially in religious art.

In bringing these imperfect, but not hasty, observations to a close, I would again urge on all those who really wish to have clear notions of glass-painting to study the glass in this cathedral. If we once learn to appreciate that, we shall have made a great step. We shall then perceive more clearly how

the earlier style which I first noticed can be developed in a manner worthy of us. It is these two styles alone which should be studied. The employment of either must depend on circumstances, and the character of the place intended to be decorated with glass. The earlier style is more fit for severe buildings,—the later for buildings of more ornamental character. They will stand well together, and need fear no comparison. The greater flatness of the earlier style is no objection to it, provided that the figures executed in it do not appear to be flat. An appearance of rotundity is compatible with low relief, as we see in the head on a coin—and so there can be an artistically flat style in glass-painting, and an artistically pictorial style, co-existing, and preferable the one to the other according to circumstances.



XIII.

ON AN HERALDIC WINDOW IN THE NORTH AISLE OF THE NAVE OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

By Charles Winston and Weston Styleman Walford.

(From the 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xvii., 1860.)

THE nave of York Cathedral contains the most perfect, and perhaps the most extensive, remains of painted glass of the early part of the fourteenth century, of which this country can boast. All the windows of the aisles (except two), the great west window of the nave, and all the clear-story windows (except two), retain their original glazing, but little mutilated, and as yet, fortunately, not "restored."

We learn from documents that the foundation of the nave was begun on the south side, towards the east, in April, 1291, and that an altar, dedicated to St. Edmund, was erected on the south side of the nave in 1326; which might lead us to seek the earliest glazing in those windows of the south aisle which are nearest the transept. Want of leisure has prevented us from undertaking the complete examination of more than one window, namely, that which is the subject of this memoir, the first window reckoning from the east in the north aisle of the nave. But such an examination of the heraldry in the other windows of the nave[1] as we have been enabled to make, appears to justify a confident opinion that the earliest glazing is that contained in the window about to be described, and, judging only by the style of execution, in the window which is next to it and known as the Bell-founder's window.[2] In point of style, the

[1] The arms and heraldic devices in the original glazing, which remain in these windows, will be noticed in some detail at the end of this communication.

[2] The Fabric Rolls of York Cathedral, lately published by the Surtees Society, do not commence till 1360, long after the date of these windows. The great west window was probably not erected until a few years after the date of the contract for it in 1338. The two windows to which in 1338 about one-fifth of the sum given by Archbishop Melton for the west window was applied, were

resemblance which all the aisle windows bear to one another is so close as to lead to the belief that there is but little difference in date between them; a belief corroborated by the evidence supplied by such of the existing heraldry as is coeval with the original glazing of the windows. Some of the clearstory windows may be of the same date as the latest windows of the aisles, some a little later than these; but they all appear to be earlier than the great west window, which is manifestly the latest of the series.

The painted window taken for our subject may be shortly described as a white pattern window enriched with coloured pictures and ornaments; a kind of window common to the whole Decorated period of glass-painting, and extensively employed in these very aisles and clearstories.[1] The general ground of its lower lights is of white glass, ornamented with interlacing bands and tendril-like scrollages of leaf-work painted in outline. This is crossed by two rows of rectangular panels, on each of which is represented a canopy enshrining a group of figures. The tracery lights are filled with figures and ornaments. Owing to these parts of the design being richly coloured, the window in general effect is as if it was composed of six alternate horizontal stripes of white and coloured glass, its tracery-head forming one of the coloured stripes; although it is true that the transition from the one to the other is a good deal modified by the rich tint of the glass composing the white stripe, as well as by the continuation across it of the coloured borders to the lights, and by the insertion, in the white intervals, of coloured panels con-

probably in the clearstory. Unfortunately the two missing clearstory windows are the one on each side which was nearest the great west window, the very windows, in short, to which we might naturally infer that the money in question was appropriated.

[1] Each aisle of the nave is furnished with seven side windows and an east window, of three lights each. In the nave is the great west window of eight lights; and in the clearstory are eight windows on each side, of five lights apiece, the two supernumerary windows being over the western aisles of the transepts. Only the first six, from the east, of the side windows of each aisle retain the original glazing. Of these all in the north aisle, and the four easternmost ones in the south, are similar in general design to the subject of this memoir. So are also, in principle, such of the clearstory windows as retain their glass. Of the two remaining side windows of the south aisle, one is a Jesse, the other has three large figures and canopies, and once had a small subject beneath each. The west windows of the aisles have each three canopies with figures, and originally had a small subject under the centre one only. The great west window has three tiers of canopies resting on one another, and a strip of ornamental glass at the bottom, in its lower lights. The tracery lights of all are variously filled with ornaments, heraldry, or figures.

taining shields of arms. The uniformity of the arrangement is somewhat broken by the introduction, at the base of the centre light, of a coloured panel on which is an effigy of the donor of the window. The subjects of the other pictures are taken from the legend of St. Catherine.

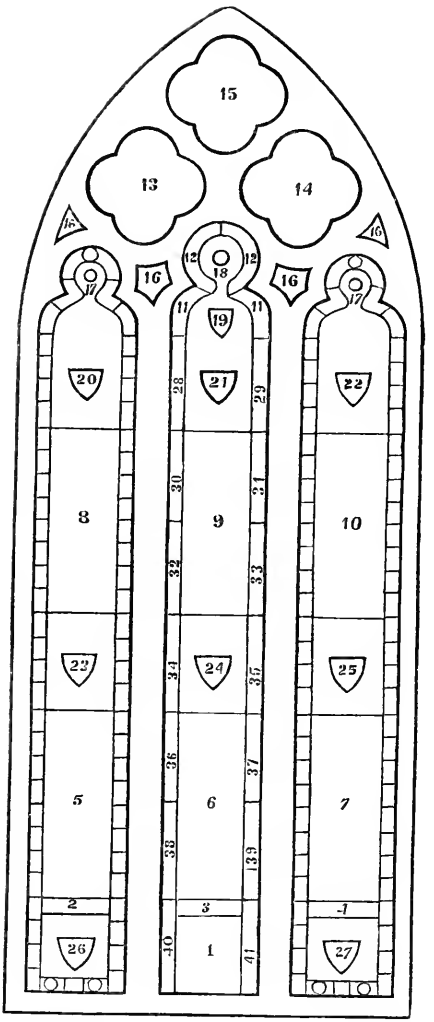
In order to facilitate a more detailed description of the design, recourse has been had to the diagram, to which the following numbers refer:—

No. 1. On this panel is represented a canopy having a red ground to the niche, under which is the kneeling figure of an ecclesiastic with tonsured head, and habited in a blue cope and hood, an aumuce, the white fur of which is seen about the neck, white surplice, purple under-dress, and purple shoes.

Nos. 2, 3, 4. That figure is unquestionably referred to in an inscription in Lombardic capitals, yellow on a black ground, which in a mutilated state crosses the window in the direction of Nos. 2, 3, and 4. The letters which remain in No. 2 are—PUR : M—RE : PIERE ;—in No. 3, DENE : KE : CESTE : F ;—in No. 4, RE : FIST : FE—; which in all probability may be thus read, restoring the missing letters in the blank spaces from which the lettering, &c., have been removed: PRIEZ : PUR : MAISTRE : PIERE : DE : DENE : KE : CESTE : FENESTRE : FIST : FERE :[1]

No. 5. On this panel is represented the first of the series of subjects from the legend of St. Catherine. It appears to be St. Catherine pleading for the faith before the Emperor Maximin. A young nimbed female stands before a regal person seated on a throne, who, from his angry countenance and uplifted gloved hand, seems to be yielding to the evil suggestions of the devil perched on his shoulder. The canopy or shrine under which the group is placed is of an ordinary type. The niche arch is ornamented with segmental foliations, the niche ground

[1] This inscription had been overlooked until a few years ago, when Mr. Niblet, a member of the Institute, being in the Cathedral, availed himself of a scaffold that had been erected at this window, and examined the glass; and finding some letters, he made a copy of them, which he showed to one of the writers of this memoir; who, after a few conjectural corrections, discovered that it contained the name of the donor. His colleague made the same discovery on a careful examination of the glass itself with a telescope, and succeeded in reading the remains of the inscription, which were found to coincide exactly with the copy as corrected; a strong corroboration of its accuracy. "Dene" seems to occur again in a very mutilated inscription about half-way down one of the lower lights of the third window from the west in the north clearstory of the nave. It may, however, be the last syllable of a longer name.



HERALDIC WINDOW IN THE NAVE, YORK CATHEDRAL.

(Diagram showing the arrangement of the design.)

is red, and the ground of the panel on which are the canopy spires is coloured blue. The canopy itself is chiefly yellow, but some white and bits of other colours are introduced. The figures have flesh-coloured faces, and coloured glass predominates in their dresses.

No. 6. The subject of this panel seems to be St. Catherine's contention with the philosophers sent by Maximin to confute her. Two male figures in civil costume, one wearing the cap usually appropriated to theological doctors (the head of the other being lost), appear as if they were rebuking a young nimbed female who is standing with them. The ground of the canopy niche is blue, and that of the spire is red.

No. 7. The subject of this panel is in a very mutilated state. But on examining the remains, and comparing them with the inaccurate engraving of this window given by Drake in 1736,[1] it would seem to be the execution of the philosophers by Maximin's orders, in revenge for having allowed themselves to be converted to the faith by St. Catherine's arguments. On the west side of the picture are two pairs of feet, as if originally belonging to two standing figures, most likely the two executioners. There is on this side also one figure, standing, perfect to the waist; and near it, but not exactly above it, the head and shoulders of another figure, with a ferocious countenance, and having flowing hair confined with a band. This figure holds in its left hand the two wrists, having hands attached, of another figure now wanting, and from the sway of the body there can be little doubt that the principal figure was originally in the act of beheading the figure now wanting (and which we may conclude was one of the philosophers), though its right arm has been lost or removed. There is, moreover, an indication of a sword-blade over the head of the principal figure, in the position it would occupy if upraised to strike a blow. At the east corner of the picture is a kneeling figure perfect, its hands raised in supplication, and with terror depicted in its countenance, representing, as we may suppose, the other philosopher. All the figures are in civil costume. The ground of the canopy niche is red, and that of the spire is blue.

No. 8. The subject of this panel is the imprisonment of St. Catherine, during which, according to the legend, she was attended by angels, and visited by Maximin's empress and his minister Porphyry, both of whom she converted to the faith.

[1] See Drake's 'History of York,' p. 527.

St. Catherine is represented standing, her hands joined in prayer, within a small canopy or tabernacle having a blue external roof beneath the niche of the principal shrine. The lower part of her person is concealed by some castellated work. A white chain proceeds as from her neck, under the fibula of her mantle, and is secured at the other end to one of the shafts of the small tabernacle. Immediately over her head, and between it and the niche arch of the small tabernacle, is an angel, having the right hand raised in benediction, and holding in the left a scroll, inscribed AVE : MARIA. The letters, which are Lombardic capitals, are white on a black ground. The convert Porphyry, placed on the west side of the small tabernacle, is kneeling, with hands joined in prayer, and adoring the saint. His head is flesh-coloured ; the hair, which is combed into a large roll on each side of the face, is stained yellow ;[1] and he is habited in a purple robe furnished with a hood. Some white is shown, as of an under-dress. The shoes are blue. On the opposite side is a crowned female, kneeling and adoring the saint, with hands joined in prayer. The ground of the niche of the small tabernacle is blue, that of the principal canopy is red, and that of the spire is green.

No. 9. The subject of this panel is the miraculous deliverance of St. Catherine from the punishment of the wheel. The principal figure is standing, with hands joined in prayer, between two wheels. The head of the figure is an insertion : it belongs to the Perpendicular period. Two executioners lie disabled on the ground on the east side of the saint, and two soldiers in yellow mail on the other side. Above are two angels with swords, striking the wheels and rescuing the saint. The ground of the canopy niche is blue, that of the spire is red powdered with yellow wavy stars.

No. 10. The subject of this panel is the beheading of St. Catherine. An executioner is represented beheading a female. The head of the saint is an insertion ; it belongs to the Decorated

[1] The yellow stain appears to be more or less used in all the windows of the aisles. This window affords the earliest example of its use that we are at present acquainted with. The staining property of silver as applicable to glass-painting is said to have been discovered by the accidental dropping of a silver button into a vessel containing melted glass. It is probable that the discovery of the property long preceded its practical application ; for the silvered tesseræ used in the mosaics at St. Mark's, Venice, and also at St. Sophia, Constantinople, occasionally exhibit a change from white to yellow of the transparent glass with which the silver is overlaid, occasioned by its contact with the metal whilst exposed to heat.

period. Above are two angels raising up a napkin arranged in the form of a festoon. The little figure it originally supported has been lost. This may be an allusion either to the carrying of the saint's soul to paradise, or, according to the legend, to the transportation of her body to Mount Sinai. The ground of the canopy niche is red, and that of the spire is red also, but this clearly is an insertion, though of glass coeval with the window. In all probability it was taken out of one of the aisle windows, which, as before mentioned, have been deprived of their glazing.

Nos. 11, 11 (in the border of the centre light). Each of these spaces is occupied by an angel under a canopy, tossing a thurible; these, as well as the next two subjects, are probably allusive to St. Catherine's burial by angels, according to the legend.

Nos. 12, 12. Each of these spaces is occupied by an angel under a canopy, playing on a harp.

Nos. 13, 14. The subjects of these tracery lights seem also allusive to St. Catherine's burial. In both lights are two figures, those in No. 13 proceeding in an eastward, those in No. 14 in a westward direction. The foremost figure in each case is nimbed, and clad in a mantle, long under-dress, and shoes. That in No. 14 is tossing a thurible; its head, which belongs to the Perpendicular period, is an insertion. Neither of the rearmost figures is nimbed; each carries a taper, one coloured green, the other pink. The figure in No. 14 is in a white surplice with a jewelled band about half way down the skirt. The other appears to be in a light brown dress; it is possible that the dress was white like the other, but is discoloured by age. The ground of each light is red, ornamented with a white scrollage bearing maple-leaves, and the border of the light is green with white quatrefoils.

No. 15. The subject of this light seems to be the reception of St. Catherine's soul into heaven. In the upper part are the remains of a figure of Christ. The body of the figure is an insertion. The left hand clasps a book, the right is open with the fingers extended. Below are two angels clad in white, kneeling, and raising up a napkin in the form of a festoon. The place of the little figure it probably once supported is occupied with fragments which, seen from below, are unintelligible. All parts of the interior of the light are much mutilated. The head of one of the angels belongs to the Perpendicular period, and is an insertion; the head of the other is original, and the hair

is stained yellow. The ground of the light is blue; its border is red with white quatrefoils.

Nos. 16, 16, 16, 16. These remaining four tracery lights are filled merely with coloured and white glass.

Nos. 17, 17. Each of these little circles in the heads of the two outer lower lights contains a crowned head nimbed; possibly for St. Edmund and the Confessor.

No. 18. In this circle is a purple bird, resembling a hawk, on a blue ground: probably the device of the donor, and intended for the Danish raven, in allusion to his name.[1]

No. 19 is a shield, bearing *gu.* 2 keys saltier-wise *or*, *St. Peter*, the patron of the cathedral.

No. 20 is a shield on a cinquefoiled panel having a red ground and yellow beaded border, bearing *or* a double-headed eagle displayed *sab.* armed *gu.*, *the Emperor.*

No. 21 is a shield on a cinquefoiled panel like the last, but having a green ground, bearing *gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *or*, *England.*

No. 22 is a shield on a red cinquefoil, bearing *az.* semy of lys *or*, *France.*

No. 23 is a shield on a green cinquefoil, bearing paly of six *or* and *gu.*, *Provence* or *Arragon.*

No. 24 is a shield on a red cinquefoil, bearing *or* an eagle displayed *sab.* armed *gu.*, *King of the Romans.*

No. 25 is a shield on a green cinquefoil, bearing quarterly 1 and 4 *gu.* a castle *or*, 2 and 3 *arg.* a lion rampant *purpure*, *Castile and Leon.*

No. 26 is a shield on a green cinquefoil, bearing *arg.* a cross potent between seven cross-croslets *or*, *Jerusalem.*

No. 27 is a shield on a green cinquefoil, bearing *gu.* an escarbuncle *or*, *Navarre.*

No. 28 (in the border of the centre light). Under a small canopy, the niche ground of which is green, is represented a knight, in white banded mail ornamented with the yellow stain, wearing a coiffe de mailles, and having a spear, belted sword, rowelled spurs, and long surcote displaying *gu.* a cross *arg.*

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[1] In the English of that period Danes and Danish may be found spelt respectively Deneis and Denez (after the Anglo-Sax. *Dene*, Danes). According to these orthographies Danes' raven and Danish raven would differ only in one letter from Dene's raven. Some families named Deane have borne ravens, which have been occasionally converted into crows or choughs; the Denmans have a raven for their crest; and analogously several families named Dennis (variously spelt) have borne *Danish* axes.

No. 29. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight in yellow banded mail, without a spear, but in other respects like the last, on whose surcote is displayed *arg.* a cross *gu.*

No. 30. Under a similar canopy, with red niche ground, is a crowned figure in white and yellow-stained mail, without a spear, on whose surcote is displayed *az.* semy of lys *or*, *France.*

No. 31. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a crowned figure, drawn like the last, whose surcote displays *gu.* 3 lions passant guardant in pale *or*, *England.*

No. 32. Under a similar canopy, with red niche ground, is a crowned female figure clad in a green under-dress and a mantle, the latter being *az.* semy of lys *or*, *France.*

No. 33. Under a similar canopy is a crowned female figure, whose mantle bears *gu.* 3 lions passant guardant in pale *or*, *England.*

No. 34. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight in white and yellow-stained mail, with a spear, and long surcote on which is displayed *gu.* 3 lions passant guardant in pale *or* a label *az.*, *Heir apparent of England.* The lions in this instance look eastwards, but no one conversant with early heraldry will attach any importance to this anomaly.

No. 35. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight clad in banded mail; he is in the act of raising his bacinet from his coiffe de mailles with one hand, the other holds a spear. On his surcote is displayed *or* 3 chevronels *gu.*, *Clare.*

No. 36. Under a similar canopy, with red niche ground, is a knight in the act of raising the vizor of his bacinet; on his surcote is displayed checky *or* and *az.*, *Warenne.*

No. 37. Under a similar canopy, having the niche ground green, is part of a knight, from the belt downwards, the rest of the figure having been destroyed. The part of the surcote which remains displays *gu.* semy of cross-croslets *or*. The coat, according to Drake's engraving, is *gu.* a fess between 6 cross-croslets *or*, *Beauchamp.*

No. 38. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight, armed like the rest in mail, and with coiffe de mailles, &c. The part of the surcote above the belt displays *gu.* 3 water budgets *arg.*, *Ros.* The white belt hangs down in front, concealing the charge, if any, on the lower half of the surcote.

No. 39. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight, armed like the rest. His surcote, which is much mutilated, displays *gu.* a lion rampant *arg.*, *Mowbray.*

No. 40. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight whose surcote displays checky *or* and *az.* a fess *gu.*, *Clifford.*

No. 41. Under a similar canopy is a knight whose surcote displays *or* a lion rampant *az.*, *Percy.*

The two other lights are bordered with the following devices, a yellow lion rampant on a red ground, and a white eagle displayed, having its beak and claws stained yellow, on a green ground. These devices are placed alternately, so that the eagle is at the very top, and the lion in the middle of the bottom of each light. The lions and eagles on the western sides of the lights look towards the east; those on the eastern sides of the lights look towards the west.

Of Master Peter de Dene, whose name appears in the abovementioned inscription, so little is generally known, that we may, perhaps, be excused for inserting a sketch of his life, especially as it will materially assist us in ascertaining the date of this window, and in appropriating, more precisely than we otherwise could, the various coats of arms which it displays. He was a "Doctor utriusque juris:" and it was probably with reference to this academical degree that the term "Magister" was usually applied to him; though that was, we conceive, more commonly, as well as more properly, used to designate those who had graduated in Arts. He was also a canon or prebendary of the cathedral churches of York, London, and Wells, and of the collegiate churches of Southwell and Wimbourne Minster.[1] Of his birth, parentage, or early history we have no particulars. If, as seems most probable, his family was of little or no consideration, he must have had great abilities or very influential friends to enable him to acquire so much preferment. From some events in his life there is reason to believe that he was born about 1260; hardly much before that year, for we shall see he was living in 1332, and then evidently not a very old man, or at least not very infirm. The earliest mention of him that has been discovered is in 1295, when he was summoned with the justices and others to assist at a parliament to be held at Westminster.[2] In 1297 he appears to have been one of the council of Prince Edward, in which he was associated with several bishops, earls, barons, and others, among whom was William de Grenefeud (or, according to modern orthography, Greenfield),

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[1] See his Will, Scriptores decem, col. 2037. [2] Parl. Writs, i. p. 29.

canon of York;[1] no doubt the future chancellor and archbishop of that name. He is not the only canon there mentioned, and we may reasonably assume that, had Peter de Dene been then a canon, he would have been so designated. The Prince, afterwards Edward II., was at that time about thirteen years of age. We next meet with Peter de Dene in 1300, when the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, granted him a pension of 10*l.* a year,[2] a substantial annuity at that period. Though he could not then have been much more than forty years of age, if so old, the purpose and conditions of the grant show him to have been a person of acknowledged learning, ability, and influence; for he engaged to be faithful all his life to the abbot and convent, and to undertake their causes and business within the kingdom of England when they came to his knowledge, and especially all disputes between them and the archbishop, prior, and archdeacon of Canterbury; with whom, being their neighbours, differences, we may presume, not unfrequently arose. In 1302 he and also William de Greenfield were summoned, as two of the King's Clerks, to appear before the Chancellor, Langton, to advise on some arduous affairs of the King.[3] We find him in 1304 claiming to be a canon of London, and complaining that his vote had not been allowed on the election of Ralph de Baldock to that see: in the course of the dispute he appealed to the Pope, but we learn from a bull of Clement V. that he did not prosecute the appeal to a decision.[4]

He was summoned with the justices and others to assist at various parliaments held in the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 33rd years of Edward I., and also to attend the parliament to be held at Carlisle, to advise the King preparatory to his intended expedition into Scotland, which was frustrated by his death.[5] That parliament assembled on the 30th of May, 1307, at which time Peter de Dene appears to have been domiciled at York, as domestic chaplain and chancellor to the Archbishop, and a canon of the cathedral; for on the 31st of January in that year Archbishop Greenfield, who appears to have become one of his patrons, desired the dean and chapter to admit "Magistrum Petrum de Dene clericum domesticum commensalem et cancellarium nostrum Eboracensis ecclesie canonicum" to the next

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[1] Parl. Writs, i. p. 62.

[2] Thorn's Chron., Scriptores decem, col. 1979.

[3] Parl. Writs, i. p. 110.

[4] Rymer, i. p. 980.

[5] Parl. Writs, i. pp. 83, 91, 113, 138, 182.

vacant dignity in the cathedral.[1] How long he had held those offices, or afterwards continued to hold them, does not appear; but his connexion with York commenced, in all probability, under Greenfield, who was appointed to the archbishopric in December, 1304. Though styled "canonicum," he has not been found actually filling any particular stall at York so early as 1307. In Le Neve's Fasti, by Hardy, he is mentioned as prebendary of Gevendale in 1312, but this has been found to be an error.[2] Though we have good reason to believe he held the prebend of Grindall at a later period, the time of his appointment to that stall does not appear. It was filled by another person in August, 1308, and therefore he must have succeeded to it after that date. He is not called canon in the inscription on the window, yet the kneeling figure, which, no doubt, was intended to represent him, is in a habit closely resembling that of a canon. On the 4th of August, 1308, the Archbishop allowed Peter de Dene, canon of York, and rector of Elneley (probably Emly, near Huddersfield), to choose a confessor; and on the 30th of October, 1309, he received permission to let his living of Elneley to farm, and to be non-resident for three years. The following day his term of non-residence was extended to seven years. On the 11th of April, 1309, the Archbishop made him his vicar-general during his absence from the diocese. On the 19th of October, 1311, Master Peter de Dene, rector of Elneley, had again the Archbishop's permission to choose a confessor; and on the same day a commission was issued, authorising William de Pickering, the Dean of York, and John de Nassington senior, canon, to inquire how it happened that he held two livings, the rectory of Elneley and the living of Emelden in the diocese of Durham (perhaps Embledon, in Northumberland). On the 24th of September, 1312, he is again called canon of York, and appointed vicar-general of the Archbishop.[3]

Though he had become thus intimately connected with the cathedral church of York, he had not separated himself from the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury. We learn from the

[1] Greenfield's Register.

[2] We learn from the Rev. James Raine, to whose kindness we are indebted for such of the particulars relating to Peter de Dene as have been derived from Archbishop Greenfield's Register, that William de Pickering, who had held this prebend, died on the 7th of April, 1312, and was succeeded by John de Sandall in April, 1313, under a Papal provision; and that there was some dispute about the appointment, and Peter de Dene was one of those commissioned to inquire into it; which would hardly have been the case, had Peter himself claimed the prebend in question.

[3] Greenfield's Register.

chronicler of that house, that in the same year (1312) he had certain spiritual benefits conferred on him in return for the temporal benefits and services that he had rendered to the abbot and convent. He had been, it appears, a constant defender of them, and in time of need had given them two hundred marcs; besides this he had erected, at his own expense, certain buildings on the north side of the chapel of the infirmary, which bore his name. Induced by these services and benefactions, the abbot and convent granted that three monks should pray daily at three different altars for him, and for the souls of his parents, relatives, and benefactors, and for his own soul after his death; and also that an anniversary for himself and his parents should be celebrated on St. Margaret's day during his life, and, after his decease, on the day of his death.[1] No names being mentioned, we learn nothing from this transaction as to who were his parents or benefactors; as the souls of the former were to be prayed for, we may assume they were then dead.

He was again vicar-general of the Archbishop during his absence in June, 1313;[2] and in the same year he is styled canon of York, and vicar-general of the Archbishop, in a return made, the 30th of July, to a mandate directing an inquiry as to the goods of the Knights Hospitallers.[3] In 1316 he was one of eleven "Magistri" that were desired by the King to assist with their counsel the Bishops of Norwich and Ely and the Earl of Pembroke, who were about to proceed on an embassy to the Pope.[4] It related probably to the affairs of the King with the Scots, since, in the ensuing year, the Pope attempted to negotiate a peace between the two kingdoms, which the Scots, apparently with reason, considered much to their disadvantage.

Peter de Dene resigned his living of Elneley in February, 1317-18, which was then valued at seventy marcs per annum,[5] a good income at that time. He had been summoned to assist at various parliaments held in the 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th years of Edward II.[6] A change now came over his fortune. We find that on the 2nd of June, 1322, John Gifford, by reason of a provision made for him by the Pope, was admitted to the stall of Grindall, which was then vacant "per ingressum religionis Magistri Petri de Dene et professionem

[1] Thorn's Chron., Scriptores decem, col. 2012.
[2] Greenfield's Register.
[3] Kellaw's Register, Durham.
[4] Rymer, ii. p. 305.
[5] Greenfield's Register.
[6] Parl. Writs, vol. ii. part i. pp. 138, 153, 174, 176, 179, 183, 198, 216, 220, 236, 246.

ejus."[1] Master Peter was then probably about sixty-two years of age; and this withdrawal from active life might be supposed to have been in order to spend the evening of his days in the peaceful retirement of a cloister. But it was, in fact, the commencement of troubles which saddened the remainder of his life.

After the execution of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, which quickly followed his defeat at Boroughbridge in 1322, the power of the Despencers became predominant. Severe measures were forthwith adopted against such of his adherents as had not either fallen in battle or been made prisoners; and Peter de Dene, who was believed to have been one, found himself in great jeopardy. His connection with the Lancastrian party does not previously appear. His uninterrupted success would seem to justify us in assuming that till this reverse his conduct had been generally approved of by the King and his friends. The fact of his having been appointed one of the advisers of the ambassadors sent to Rome by the King in 1316, rather tends to show he was not then a Lancastrian. For though the Bishop of Norwich, John Salmon, and the Earl of Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, two of those ambassadors, had been also two of the commissioners forced upon Edward in 1310, by the Lancastrians, for the better regulation of the affairs of his kingdom and household, yet this bishop was in 1312 placed at the head of a commission, consisting of the King's friends, to correct the ordinances which had been made by the former commissioners, and he was chancellor in 1320. And as regards the Earl of Pembroke, though he had joined the Earl of Lancaster against Gavaston, the murder of the latter by the order, or at least with the approval, of the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, in 1312, after Pembroke, to whom he had surrendered, had engaged to spare his life, not only made this Earl lukewarm in their cause, but seems to have led to his eventually abandoning their party. The other ambassador, John Hotham, had been recently raised to the see of Ely. Little is known of his previous political atttachments. He had been one of the King's chaplains and chancellor of the exchequer, and been sent by Edward on a mission to Ireland; but as he was Chancellor of England from 1318 to 1320, at which time Lancaster was influential, we may assume he was not regarded by that Earl as an adversary. From the rigour of the persecution against Peter de Dene, it seems probable that he had by some

[1] Greenfield's Register.

means given great offence to the King's party. The chronicler of St. Augustine's, however, says it was without his fault, and speaks of the enemies of Peter as noble and powerful, but does not give any of their names. They were intent not only on his capture and imprisonment and the depriving him of his property, but even sought his life—a degree of enmity which may warrant a suspicion that some tergiversation was imputed to him. In this state of things, unable to resist his adversaries, he had recourse to the monastery which he had so faithfully served and liberally benefited; and he there took on himself the habit of a monk in 1322. His position, however, was still such that he was able to make terms with the abbot and convent on his admission: he neither took all the usual vows nor gave up all his property. He was to retain some houses (*domos*) that he had built within the monastery, and his secular attendants, and also certain personal property to be disposed of as he thought fit, and the use of some silver plate as long as he lived. He was not bound to attend with the other monks in the church, chapter, refectory, dormitory, cloister, or elsewhere, either for Divine service or for any other purpose; but was to be allowed to remain with his attendants in his own chamber day and night, and give himself to prayer, contemplation, study, and other becoming (*honestis*) occupations as he might be disposed.[1] For several years he conducted himself very creditably and satisfactorily. He taught canon law to the monks and others, gave counsel to the abbot and seniors in the house, conducted their most private and difficult affairs, and was allowed a reasonable time to walk about both within and without the walls of the monastery. At length, growing weary of this kind of existence, and having no longer any apprehension from his enemies without, he was desirous of returning to secular life. He mentioned this again and again to the abbot and convent; but they deferred the consideration of the matter, and would not consent to his departure. They were probably the more unwilling to offend him, or that he should leave them, because, on being admitted, he had made his will and bequeathed to them several highly esteemed and valuable books on canon law, and also the greater part of his money and plate. Frustrated in his endeavours to obtain permission to depart, he meditated means of escape. At that time the rector

[1] Thorn's Chron., Script. decem., col. 2036-8, 2055. In consequence of the qualified profession which he made, it is said "*de tercia* professionem emisit." *Tertiarii* were those attached to religious houses who took only some of the vows, and were not strictly monks. See Du Cange, *Tertiarius*.

of St. Martin's church, Canterbury, was one John de Bourne. The outer wall of the abbey, if it did not then actually adjoin his churchyard, was separated from it only by a narrow way. He had a brother, George de Bourne, who possessed a house at Bishopsbourne, about four miles from Canterbury. With these two brothers the discontented monk concerted a plan for his escape, and was to pay them 10*l.* for their assistance. On the day of St. Lucia (December 13), 1330, John, the rector of St. Martin's, came by invitation to dine with the infirmarer of the abbey; and during dinner he rose from table, and, pretending some business required his attention, he went to the chamber of Peter de Dene and had a long conversation with him. In the evening at supper Peter mentioned to his attendant that he had celebrated mass that day, but should not on the morrow, and therefore desired that he might not be disturbed in his morning's sleep; for he was accustomed, notwithstanding the easy terms on which he was admitted, to rise at midnight to perform the offices usual at that hour. His servant, after waiting some time, retired to rest in another chamber, leaving a boy with his master, and the door unlocked. Before midnight, having thrown off his monk's habit, he withdrew, accompanied by the boy. They took with them six dishes and six saucers (*salsaria*), probably part of the silver, the use of which when he entered he had stipulated to retain, and, passing through his own cellar to a gate which led to the garden of the cellarer, the lock of which they had broken, they found their way to the abbey-wall opposite St. Martin's church. There they made a preconcerted signal to notify their arrival, by throwing over a stone; and the rector, and his brother, and two other persons who had brought three horses to the spot, came and placed two ladders against the abbey-wall; and two of them ascending the wall seated themselves on it, and having drawn up one of the ladders, let it down on the other side into the garden. Peter and the boy having got over the wall, the former was placed on horseback and conducted through Bromden[1] to George de Bourne's house. On the flight of the monk being discovered, there was a great commotion in the monastery, and inquiries were made in all directions for the fugitive. At length it became known that he was concealed at Bishopsbourne. The house was watched all night, and on searching it

[1] Probably a close or piece of land also called Bromedowne, lying nearly behind St. Martin's church. See Hasted, vol. iv. p. 443. The object in crossing that was most likely to avoid detection.

the next day he was found carefully rolled up in a bundle of canvas. He was brought back to St. Augustine's and confined in the infirmary. The chronicler proceeds to relate in detail how he was treated, and the consequences of this flagrant breach of discipline. Peter de Dene contended that his qualified vows did not oblige him to remain in the monastery, and he appealed to the Pope. A bull in his favour was in due time produced, the genuineness of which was questioned by the abbot and convent.[1] The result is not clearly given; but it should seem that he eventually submitted to the abbot, and probably died in the monastery. We have seen that his stall at York was not filled up till 1332, when the proceedings respecting him were drawing to a close. That he should have been allowed to retain it at all, after he had entered the monastery, is remarkable. On one occasion he is represented as saying that, "if he were young and able-bodied (*corpore potens*), he would willingly go to the Court of Rome" to complain of the conduct of the Prior of Christ Church and others, who had interposed on his behalf. The particulars of his flight and concealment do not imply any great age or infirmity of body, but are consistent with the supposition that he was not more than seventy years of age, if he were really so old.

There can be no doubt, we think, that this Master Peter de Dene is the person mentioned in the inscription remaining in the window above described; indeed, no other person of the name has been found to whom it can with any probability be referred. Let us, then, consider the window with a view to ascertain the period of the donor's life to which the glass may be most reasonably ascribed. The heraldry, the figures, and the style and execution are the elements that are most available for this purpose. The probable date inferable from the style and execution has already been stated. In heraldry displayed on escutcheons and surcotes the window is remarkably rich; and, what is very unusual in glass of that age, not a single coat is wholly missing.

First of the escutcheons of arms: they are chiefly those of sovereigns, yet clearly several of them were not contemporaries with the donor; for at no time to which the execution of the glass can be reasonably attributed were there living an Emperor of Germany, a King of the Romans, a King of Jerusalem, and a Count of Provence or King of Aragon, whom it is at all likely Peter de Dene intended to compliment. The escutcheons seem

[1] Thorn's Chron., Scriptores decem., coll. 2055–2066.

rather to have had a genealogical object, and to have indicated some of the most distinguished alliances and connections of the reigning sovereign of England. Reckoning from the west, in the first light are the arms of the Emperor, Provence or Aragon, and Jerusalem; in the second those of England, and most probably the King of the Romans; and in the third those of France, Castile and Leon, and Navarre. This remarkably early example of the double-headed eagle may be referred to Frederic II., who married Isabella, the sister of Henry III., and aunt, consequently, of Edward I.; Provence (for this, rather than Aragon, the coat paly of six *or* and *gu.*[1] may, we think, be safely assumed to be) to Queen Eleanor of Provence, daughter of Count Raymond and mother of Edward I.; and Jerusalem to Guy and Almeric de Lusignan, successively Kings of Jerusalem, whose nephew, Hugh le Brun, Count of La Marche, was the stepfather of King Henry III. The single-headed eagle, associated with that with two heads at this early period (a curious and interesting fact on which we shall have more to say presently), may be attributed to Richard King of the Romans, the brother of Henry III., and uncle, consequently, of Edward I. France may have been placed there in compliment to Margaret, daughter of Philip the Hardy, and second queen of Edward I., whom he married in September, 1299; Castile and Leon in memory of his former queen, Eleanor of Castile; and Navarre as an additional compliment to Queen Margaret, whose brother, Philip the Fair, had become King of Navarre by his marriage with Joan, daughter and heiress of Henry I. of Navarre, in 1284, the year before his accession to the throne of France. These alliances, though of little value for ascertaining the date of the glass, accord in several respects better with Edward I. than with his son Edward II.; for, if France and Navarre, and Castile and Leon, would suit equally well with the latter, whose queen Isabella was daughter of Philip the Fair, and his mother Eleanor of Castile, the Emperor, Provence, Jerusalem, and the King of the Romans would be removed one generation further from the English sovereign then upon the throne.

It has been mentioned that both of the outer lights in this window are bordered with the following devices alternately, viz., a yellow lion rampant on a red ground, and a white eagle dis-

[1] Though these arms are generally *or* four pallets *gu.*, they sometimes occur paly *or* and *gu.*, as in Mr. Stacey Grimaldi's Roll, Collectanea Topog., vol. ii. p. 320, and also in a Roll of the thirteenth century in the Harleian Collection, No. 6589.

played on a green ground. The lions and eagles on the western sides look to the east, and those on the eastern sides to the west; but variations of this sort in heraldic figures were at that time deemed of no importance. It is not possible to speak positively as to the significance of these devices. They are most likely of heraldic origin. The lions may have referred to Edmund FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, who bore *gu.* a lion ramp. *or.* As to the eagles there is greater difficulty; for no one is known to have borne *vert* an eagle or several eagles displayed *arg.*, who is at all likely to have been complimented in this window. Gavaston bore *vert* three or six eagles displayed *or;* and had these eagles been yellow, we should certainly have thought them referable to him. The heraldic tinctures were in such borders not unfrequently changed, most probably for artistic effects in colour. There is an example of this in the border of the first window, reckoning from the east, in the south aisle, where we find white castles on a red ground, intended, no doubt, for Castile, which was *gu.* a castle *or.* We are therefore disposed to regard these eagles, though they are white, as having been complimentary to Gavaston; especially as his arms were in one of the clearstory windows, and as in the borders of the west windows of both aisles the eagles are yellow. Those borders consist of castles and eagles displayed, one above the other, both yellow, not on a ground, but separated by pieces of glass *per pale* red and green, the tinctures of the respective shields of Castile and Gavaston. It will be remembered Gavaston was killed in 1312. As the favourite of Prince Edward, he was most likely known to Peter de Dene when the latter was of that Prince's council. Owing to his evil influence over the Prince, he was banished by Edward I. in 1307; but Edward II. immediately on his accession, which occurred about three months after, recalled him, created him Earl of Cornwall, and married him to his own niece, one of the daughters of his sister Joan of Acre by her first husband, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Had this window been executed after those events, and the royal favourite been complimented in it at all, we think it would not have been in this obscure manner.

Let us now examine the arms on the surcotes of the figures in the border of the middle light, and see what evidence they will furnish. It will be best to take these figures in pairs as they stand opposite each other. The two uppermost appear to be knights in mail with long surcotes, on which are respectively *gu.* a cross *arg.*, and *arg.* a cross *gu.* But that he has no nimbus, the

latter might be supposed to be St. George; the other is also without a nimbus. We find in the printed Roll t. Edward II. these arms borne by two knights respectively; the former by Sir Henry de Cobham the uncle, and the latter by Sir Michael de Herteclawe. In the printed Roll t. Henry III. the former are ascribed to Peter de Savoy, and the latter to Robert de Vere. Peter de Savoy was an uncle of Queen Eleanor of Provence, the mother of Edward I.; but, seeing the figures which follow, there is no good reason why he or any of the knights by whom these arms were borne should have been represented above the kings and queens of France and England. These crosses, it will be remembered, are those which were respectively borne by the Hospitallers and Templars; and these two figures may have been intended not for individuals, but as representatives of those two leading military orders. Figures of two knights with similar arms on their cyclases and shields formerly existed in one of the windows of Bristol cathedral of about the same period, and were probably meant to represent those two orders. The next two figures in this border are kings; one with France on his surcote, and the other with England. The next two are queens; one with France on her dress, and the other with England: it is remarkable that neither bears any other arms than her husband's. The next two are knights, one bearing on his surcote England with a label *az.*, the arms at that time of the eldest son of the King of England, and the other Clare Earl of Gloucester. The next two are also knights, one bearing Warenne Earl of Surrey, and the other the remains of the coat of Beauchamp Earl of Warwick. The next are also knights, one bearing Ros of Hamlake, and the other Mowbray. The last two are also knights, one bearing Clifford, and the other Percy. The last four knights were also barons. All these figures appear to represent full-grown persons, without any intentional differences of age, and, with the exception of the first two, may, we think, be assumed to have been meant for portraitures of persons living, or but recently deceased, when the window was designed. If so, the coat of England with a label *az.* shows there was then an heir apparent to the throne of England old enough to bear arms, and to be represented as *an adult knight;* and this must have been either Edward II. or Edward III. in the lifetime of his father. There are several reasons for believing that it could not have been the latter. He was not born till November, 1312, and therefore in 1322, when the Earl of Lancaster was put to death, and Peter de Dene took refuge in St. Augustine's, that prince was only ten years of age.

If this glass were executed after the donor had attached himself to the Lancastrian party, it was most likely after 1316, and we should in all probability have had in it the arms of the Earl of Lancaster and other leaders of that party; whereas, although the arms of Warwick, who died in that year, are there, those of Lancaster and Hereford are not; yet these two Earls were respectively the first-cousin and brother-in-law of Edward II. If it be supposed that the object of the donor was to propitiate the King on some occasion when the royal authority was triumphant over the Lancastrians, we would ask, why then have we the arms of Warwick, to whom Gavaston's death was principally due, and not those of Despencer, the then all powerful favourite? Why, too, those of the Earl of Gloucester, who was killed in 1314, and not those of the young princes, Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock, the brothers of Edward II., the younger of whom was eleven years older than their nephew Prince Edward? The last of the Clares Earls of Gloucester fell at Bannockburn. He was so young, not having been born till 1291, that his arms could hardly have been placed in this window, except as those of a prince of the blood royal, having been a grandson of Edward I.; and therefore he was not likely to have been thus commemorated after his death. The long surcotes and the rest of the costume of the figures also claim rather an earlier date than the time when Prince Edward, afterwards Edward III., might be expected to have been represented as an adult knight. If, moreover, the two uppermost figures are a Hospitaller and a Templar, it is improbable that the latter would have been placed in this window after the order of the Templars had fallen into disgrace and been actually abolished in 1312. The earlier in the reign of Edward II. this glass is supposed to have been executed, the less probable is it that the coat of England with a label *az.* should be that of his son Prince Edward; and it is difficult to believe the window could have been presented after the donor became a monk in 1322. It is surely far more probable that the heir apparent to the throne was Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II., though then it must be referred to the very end of his father's reign; for it cannot be so early as 1296, when the previous Clare Earl of Gloucester died, and when we have no reason to suppose Peter de Dene was in any way connected with the cathedral of York. Indeed, his interest in this cathedral appears to have been due to the patronage of Archbishop Greenfield, and did not therefore commence before 1305, that prelate having been appointed to the see in December, 1304. The young Earl of Gloucester was

only sixteen years of age when Edward I. died; and John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who should also seem to have been represented in consequence of his connexion with the royal family, did not marry the king's niece till 1306. At that time Peter de Dene was about forty-six years of age: his career had been successful, and his benefactions in money and buildings to the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, show that for some time previous to 1312 he had not lacked either the means or the disposition to be munificent.

In 1306 or the following year the figures in the border of the middle light might have represented the following persons, viz.: A Hospitaller and a Templar; Edward I. and Philip the Fair; Margaret Queen of England, and Joan of Navarre Queen of France, who died in 1304, or the Queen-Dowager of France, Mary of Brabant, the mother of Margaret Queen of England; Prince Edward, and Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester; John de Warenne Earl of Surrey, and Guy de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick; Sir William de Ros of Hamlake, and Sir John de Mowbray; Sir Robert de Clifford and Sir Henry Percy. Of these, Warwick, Ros, Mowbray, Clifford, and Percy had distinguished themselves in the war with the Scots. Peter de Dene may have made their acquaintance in the north, even if he had not done so at some of the numerous parliaments which he had attended, or he may have been indebted to them for advancement or other favours; as their figures were most probably placed in this window from either friendship or gratitude. We may add, that Clifford fell at Bannockburn (1314), Percy died in 1315, and Warwick in 1316, all leaving heirs under age; and though these noblemen may have been so commemorated after their deaths, it is more likely that this should have been done while they were living.

On a careful review of all the preceding facts and observations, we think the conclusion which they warrant is, that the glass of this window was executed certainly in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and most probably in 1306, or in 1307 before the accession of Edward II.

It remains that we should add a few words on the occurrence in this window of an eagle with two heads, and another with one head only, both *sa.* on a field *or*. We do not think that any difference of opinion as to their application can affect the conclusion at which we have arrived respecting the date of the glass, and we hope to show good ground for believing them to have been meant for the arms of an Emperor of Germany and

a King of the Romans; though it is generally supposed that this application of these two heraldic forms of the eagle is not older than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that the two-headed eagle was not used by the Western Emperors till Wenceslaus (1378-1400). German writers, as Gudenus and Oetter,[1] state positively that an eagle with two heads occurred on some of the seals of the Emperors Charles IV. and Wenceslaus, but do not specify them. It is not to be found on any of their seals engraved by Vredius, nor have we met with a representation or description of such a seal. According to Oetter, this device was in use long before it appeared on any seal, and it originated in the junction of the eagle of the kingdom of Germany with that of the Empire, in the manner called by heralds dimidiation. Among the arguments to prove that it was the ensign or banner of the Empire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he has quoted passages from writers of those times, where the plural, *aquilæ*, is supposed to have been applied to it. One instance is from a letter of our Queen Eleanor in 1193 to Pope Celestine, invoking his influence for the liberation of her son King Richard,[2] where she says, "Christi crux antecellit Cæsaris aquilas;" but this may admit of a different interpretation. Whatever may have been the origin of the device, an eagle with two heads is found on two gold coins of Louis of Bavaria, as emperor, whose accession was in 1314; and there is no reason to think this was the first use of it, though no earlier example has come down to our times. Two seals of his sons, William and Albert, are engraved by Vredius, which have their arms on an eagle with two heads, in accordance with an occasional practice of the sons of emperors showing their connection with the Empire by placing their arms on an eagle. Coins or medals (*numi*) of the Empresses Elizabeth and Katherine, the wives of Albert I. and Henry VII., are said to have on them the double-headed eagle,[3] but of these we have seen no example. The earliest instance that we have discovered of the two-headed eagle being attributed to the Emperor, and the eagle with one head to the King of the Romans, is in a MS. in the Harleian collection,[4] which purports to be a copy of a Roll of Arms t. Henry III. The original unfortunately is lost. The occasion of its compilation it is not easy to conjecture. The MS. com-

[1] Oetter, Wappenbelustigung, 1. stück, s. 117, and, as there cited, Gudeni Sylloge, var. diplom., p. 19. The work of Zyllesius, also referred to, I have not been able to meet with.

[2] Rymer, vol. i. p. 58.

[3] Heineccius de Sigillis, p. 113.

[4] No. 6589, towards the end.

prises foreign and English coats, and begins, "L'Empereur de Almaine d'or ung egle espany ove deux testes sable;" next comes the Emperor of Constantinople; and then "Le Roy de Almaine[1] d'or un egle displaye sable; Le Roy d'Engleterre gules a trois leopards d'or; Le Roy de France d'azure seme de (a lys is here sketched) or." The copyist has probably modernised some of the spelling according to the usage of his day. The arms of England, it will be observed, are the same that were borne before those of France were quartered with them in 1339 or 1340; and those of France are what were borne before the fleurs-de-lys were reduced to three by Charles VI. As the copy of this roll contains as many foreign as English coats, it is hardly practicable to verify the whole; but we may mention, as indications of an early date, that, while we have remarked in it nothing which requires it to be referred to a period later than the thirteenth century, the arms of the Count of Hainault are "cheveronnee de or et de sable," the ancient coat which was discontinued before 1300; the arms of the Earl of Warwick are "eschekere d'or et d'azure un cheveron d'ermin," the old coat of Newburgh, the last earl of which family died 1242; those of the Earl of Pembroke are "party d'or et vert un leon rampant gulez," the arms of Marshal, the last earl of which family died in 1245; those of the Earl of Albemarle are "gules un crois patee de veire," last borne probaby by the earl who died in 1259; and those of the Earl of Winchester are "gules poudre a faux losengez d'or," for those of De Quincy, the last earl of which family died in 1264. The coat of Geoffrey de Segrave is "sable a trois garbes d'argent," which we learn from the Siege of Carlaverock had been abandoned for a lion by the father of the Nicholas Segrave there mentioned. Several of the English names are the same that are in the Roll t. Henry III., published by Sir Harris Nicolas, and probably the Roll under consideration is not much later than that. There is a very inaccurate copy of it, evidently from another exemplar, printed in Leland's 'Collectanea,' ii. p. 610.[2]

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[1] It may be needless to mention that the King of Germany and the King of the Romans were the same person. In like manner the Emperor of Germany was styled Emperor of the Romans.

[2] It is not improbable that in the original Roll the arms were drawn and coloured, and that they have been blazoned later by different persons. We must not fail to notice that in the Roll t. Edward III., published in Collectanea Topog., vol. ii. p. 320, an eagle is attributed to the Emperor without any mention of its having two heads, showing that in this country the notions on the subject were by no means uniform.

The Roll above described is not the only other early instance of the two-headed eagle for Germany found here. Among the various pavement tiles in this country which are usually ascribed with considerable probability to about 1300, occurs an eagle displayed, generally with one head, but occasionally with two heads. These tiles have been referred with good reason to Richard King of the Romans, who died in 1272; he was the brother of Henry III., and father of Edmund Earl of Cornwall, who succeeded him in that earldom, and died in 1300. Both Richard and his son were lords of the manor of Woodpery, Oxfordshire, and a tile of that period, having on it an eagle displayed with one head, was found on the site of the old church there, associated with another bearing a lion rampant, a device also referable to him, it having been borne *gu.* crowned *or* on a field *arg.* with a bordure *sab.* bezanty, both by him and his son as Earls of Cornwall. In Oxford cathedral were tiles of corresponding date, bearing respectively an eagle displayed with two heads, a lion rampant, and the arms of England; and at Dureford Abbey, Sussex, and at Warblington church, Hants, were an eagle displayed with two heads, and a similar two-headed eagle, having on its breast an escutcheon charged with a lion rampant, intended doubtless for the arms of Edmund Earl of Cornwall, who bore the above-mentioned coat, a lion rampant crowned within a bordure bezanty, upon an eagle displayed, as appears by his seal engraved by Sandford, to show his descent from a King of the Romans. The omission of the crown and bordure is by no means conclusive against the arms on this tile having been intended for his; since in heraldry on tiles such omissions are not unfrequent, especially when, as in this case, the whole design is on a single tile about five inches square. Richard, though crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, was never Emperor, for, as wrote Martinus Polonus, in the thirteenth century, of Conrad I., "inter imperatores non numeratur, quia non imperavit in Italia;" but as both these eagles were known in England about 1300, and regarded as devices having some relation to the kingdom or empire of Germany, and the appropriation of that with two heads to the Emperor, and that with one only to the King of the Romans, had certainly not become general even in Germany, it is not surprising that sometimes one and sometimes the other should have been used here for the eagle of the King of the Romans by the manufacturers of tiles, whose heraldry was never very exact. There have also been discovered in distant parts of the country certain weights, externally of

brass, marked with a double-headed eagle, and either the arms of England without the quartering of France, or a lion rampant.[1] These have been referred, and apparently with considerable reason, to the time of Henry III., and the eagle attributed to Richard King of the Romans.

So much has been written on the origin and antiquity of the two-headed or double eagle, especially in Germany, that our limits will not admit of our even referring to the principal publications in which the subject is discussed.[2] But we have not found it noticed that some of the earliest, if not the earliest, well-authenticated examples of such an eagle are on Saracenic coins, viz., a coin of Emad-ed-din Zengi, a ruler of Aleppo, A.D. 1184-5; a coin of Es-salah Mahmud, Ortokite prince of Caifa, A.D. 1216-7; and another coin of the same prince as ruler of Amid, A.D. 1218. The dates are given on the coins themselves in the years of the Hegira. These numismatic evidences are in the British Museum, and for the reference to them we are indebted to Mr. W. S. W. Vaux. An instance of a two-headed eagle is said to have been found on the shield of a soldier among the sculptures upon the column of Antoninus, but it rests on authority that requires confirmation. It is not to be supposed such a solitary and almost unobserved example should have led to the adoption of a like form of eagle by the Emperor of Germany. Those coins seem to render it not improbable that the form was derived from the East in one of the Crusades; but the subject is involved in a mystery which does not seem likely to be ever dispelled.

NOTE.—At the beginning of the preceding Memoir the heraldry in the other windows of the nave was mentioned as justifying a confident opinion, that the window above described is the earliest of those which are heraldic in that part of the cathedral. It may not, therefore, be considered irrelevant to our subject, or without interest to our readers, if we subjoin a brief notice of the arms and heraldic devices in early glazing that remain in all the windows of the aisles and clearstory of the nave. Some of the heraldry was found difficult to be made out from below, even with a telescope; of this a close inspection alone would have enabled us to speak positively. Drake has a plate (opposite p. 535), probably from some herald's notes, that purports to give all the arms which in 1641 were remaining in these and the other windows of the cathedral, but does not state the particular windows in which they were found. While

[1] See Archæologia, vol. xxv. pl. lxiv.; Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 203.

[2] One of the most curious is Oetter's Wappenbelustigung, Augsburg, 1761, 1. stück, in which the origin and history of the double-headed eagle, or, as he would have it, the double eagle of the Empire, and the distinction between the Empire and the kingdom of Germany, which in his opinion led to the union of two eagles, are very fully investigated, and the opinions of numerous writers on these subjects are quoted and discussed.

several seem to have disappeared, others are unaccountably omitted; a few perhaps may be incorrectly engraved. For the convenience of reference, we will take the windows in order from east to west.

Of the windows in the north aisle, which are all of three lights each, the first has been fully described above. The second has no heraldry. The third has the middle light bordered alternately with three lions of England on a red ground, and semy of yellow fleurs-de-lys on a blue ground, for England and France; and in the tracery, at two places, is a yellow castle on a red ground, for Castile. The fourth has each of the two side lights bordered alternately with a white lion rampant on a red ground, for Mowbray, and three red chevronels on a yellow ground, for Clare; the middle light is bordered alternately with three lions of England on a red ground, and three yellow crowns on a blue ground, probably for St. Edmund. The fifth has no heraldry. The sixth has the middle light bordered with yellow fleurs-de-lys on a ground per pale red and blue; and on a shield in each of the side lights at the top is *gu.* two swords in saltire, the hilts upwards, for St. Paul; the tracery has in two places a yellow fleur-de-lys on a red ground. The seventh has no painted glass.

Of the windows in the south aisle, which all consist also of three lights each, the first has each of the two side lights bordered alternately with yellow covered cups on a green ground, and white castles on a red ground, probably for Galicia and Castile; in the east side light at the top is a shield with England a label *arg.*, Thomas of Brotherton, a younger son of Edward I., born in 1300; in the middle light at the top another shield with *vert.* a cross *gu.*, which is false heraldry, probably due to a repair with old glass, having been originally St. George; in the west side light at the top another shield with *gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *arg.*, no doubt for England, the lions *arg.* being probably due to an omission of the yellow stain, or to a repair; unless the coat were for Giffard, whose lions were not guardant. The second has no heraldry. The third has four shields of arms, viz., at the top of the middle light England a border *arg.*, Edmund of Woodstock, another son of Edward I., born in 1301, and at the bottom *az.* a leopard rampant guardant between several fleurs-de-lys *arg.*, Holland; in the middle of the east side light barry of 8 *gu.* and *or*, an old coat, but too small for the place, and no doubt an insertion (Drake gives from the chapter-house barry of 8, *or* and *gu.*, which he attributes to FitzAlan); and in the middle of the west side light England within a border *az.*; as no such coat is known, we presume the border is a repair with old glass (Drake gives such a coat as existing in 1641). The fourth has five shields of arms, viz., in the middle light at the top England; in the east side light at the top quarterly 1 and 4 *gu.* a castle *or*, and 2 and 3 (clearly a later insertion) *az.* a dolphin embowed *arg.*, no doubt originally Castile and Leon, and in the middle of the same light *az.* semy of sprigs (leaded in) *arg.* a maunch *gu.* (Drake gives a coat *vair*, a maunch *gu.*, which is Mauley), and below is a modern coat; in the west side light at the top France semy, and in the middle of the same light *or* a bend apparently *gu.* (such a coat was borne t. Edward II. by Sir Elys Cotel, but Drake gives, probably instead of this, *or* a bend *sab.*, another Mauley). The fifth has in the tracery two yellow keys in saltire on a red ground, for St. Peter. The sixth and seventh have no heraldry; indeed the latter has no painted glass.

The west window of the north aisle and the west window of the south aisle have each three lights, and exactly the same heraldic devices, namely, the side lights are each bordered alternately with yellow castles and yellow eagles displayed, separated by a ground per pale green and red, most likely for Castile

and Gavaston; of the tracery lights two are bordered in like manner, another has, instead of the castles and eagles, yellow crowns, probably for St. Edmund, and another has a lion of England on a red ground. The great west window of the nave, which is of eight lights, has one of the middle lights bordered with yellow crowns, the other with lions of England. The contract for glazing this window was in 1338.

The clearstory windows are eight on each side, and have five lights each. The heraldry in them consists exclusively of shields of arms. For convenience of reference these windows will be taken also in their order from east to west, and the lights numbered from the spectator's left.

Of the windows on the north side of the clearstory the first has 1. possibly *sab.* a lion rampant *arg.*, Verdon, but the field is obscure; 2. England; 3. blank; 4. Warenne; 5. *az.* three chevronels braced *or* a chief *gu.*, FitzHugh. The second has 1. Valence; 2. England; 3. blank; 4. *or* a cross, probably *sab.*, Vescy; 5. *arg.* a canton *gu.*, an old coat of Clare, which became part of the label of Lionel Duke of Clarence a few years later. The third has 1. England within a bordure of France, John of Eltham, son of Edward II., born 1315 and died 1336; 2. *gu.* a lion rampant *arg.*, Mowbray; 3. England; 4. *gu.* a cross moline *erm.*, Beke, Bishop of Durham (Drake ascribes it to Paganel); 5. blank. The fourth has 1. per cross *gu.* and *vair* a bend *or*, Constable; 2. England; 3. blank; 4. *gu.*, three water-bougets *arg.*, Ros; 5. *or* a fess between two chevronels *gu.*, FitzWalter. The fifth has 1. blank; 2. Warenne; 3. England; 4 and 5. blank. The sixth has 1. per cross *or* and *gu.*. on a bend *sab.* three escallops *arg.*, Eure (Sir John was Sheriff of Yorkshire 1309, 1310); 2. *az.* a chief indented *or*, Saunders or FitzRanulph; 3. England; 4. *gu.* a saltire *arg.*, Neville; 5. *gu.* a lion rampant *or*, FitzAlan (we observe no billets, but Drake gives the field *gu.* billety *or*, and attributes the coat to Bulmer). The seventh has 1. blank; 2. *gu.* three escallops *arg.*, Dacre; 3. England; 4 and 5. broken. The eighth has no painted glass.

Of the windows on the south side of the clearstory the first has 1. *arg.* a maunch *sab.*, Hastings (Sir Ralph was Governor of York Castle in 1337, and Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1337-8); 2. *or* a fess dancetty *sab.*, Vavasour; 3. *arg.* six bars (or three bars gemelles) *gu.* on a canton *sab.* a cross patonce *or*, Etton; 4. *az.* three crowns *or*, St. Edmund; 5. *or* a cross patonce *sab.*, a modern copy of an old coat, Sampson (Sir John was Mayor of York 1299 and 1300). The second has 1. *or* a fess dancetty *sab.* (modern), Vavasour; 2. Clare; 3. *or* a lion rampant *az.*, Percy; 4. England (modern); 5. *or* a bend *sab.*, Sir Peter Mauley. The third has 1. *or* a bend *sab.* as last mentioned; 2. England; 3. *or* on a bend *sab.* three dolphins *arg.*, Sir John Mauley; 4. *or* on a bend *sab.* three eagles displayed *arg.*, Sir Robert Mauley; 5. modern coat. The fourth has 1, 2, 3, and 4 too mutilated to be made out; 5. England: it seems probable from Drake's plate that in this window were the arms of Gavaston. The fifth has 1. chequy *or* and *az.* a fess *gu.*, Clifford; 2. apparently *or* a fess *gu.* between six torteaux (but possibly the coat given by Drake as *or* two bars *gu.* in chief three torteaux, Wake); 3. England; 4 as 2 (unless it be the coat given by Drake as *or* a fess *gu.* in chief three torteaux, Colville); 5. broken. The sixth has 1. *az.* a cross patonce *or*, Warde (Sir Simon was Sheriff of Yorkshire 1316-21; but possibly the coat which is given by Drake as *sab.* a cross patonce *or*, Lascells); 2. *arg.* a bend between six martlets *gu.*, Furnival (possibly the same which Drake has given as *arg.* a bend *sab.* between six martlets of the last, Tempest); 3. England; 4. broken; 5. apparently per fess *or* and *gu.*, in chief two fleurs-de-lys, and in base two or more counterchanged (but this probably is the same

which is given by Drake as *or* on a fess between three fleurs-de-lys *gu.* two others of the field, Deyville). The seventh has 1. *az.* a fess between three fleurs-de-lys *or*, Hoke (Sir William was Sheriff of Yorkshire 1305-7); 2. a modern coat; 3. England; 4. *az.* three crescents *or*, Ryther; 5. broken. The eighth has no painted glass. In one of these windows on the south side of the clearstory, but we cannot now say which, is the following coat much mutilated: *or* on a fess between two chevronels *gu.* three mullets *arg.*, Sir Walter Tyes, who died s. p. in 1324.

We have blazoned the preceding coats as they appeared by the aid of a telescope. It will be observed that in several instances they differ from those given by Drake which there is reason to think were intended for the same. The variances may perhaps be accounted for sometimes by repairs with old glass since 1641, and sometimes by a difference of opinion as to the colour of the glass, which in many places appears very dirty. In two cases he has given *sab.* where we have noted *gu.*; which may be due to the charges having been of red glass covered with enamel brown to make it opaque, and the enamel having partially come off so as to make the glass now appear a dirty red. The instance in which he has given the field *sab.* where we have it *az.* may perhaps be due to a similar cause. These, however, are questions which a close and careful examination of the glass could alone satisfactorily determine.

We must not leave this subject without mentioning that some of the glass in the tracery of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th windows on the north side of the clearstory, and in four of those on the south side, is very old, probably of the twelfth century; a portion of it is engraved in Browne's 'York Cathedral,' pl. cxxiii. It may have formed part of the glazing of the windows of the nave which existed previously to the erection of the present.

Supplementary Note from the 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xx. p. 330:—"In the window called the 'Bell-founder's window,' the next window to the one described [in the preceding memoir], is the representation, in the lower part of the central light, of a figure in civil dress, kneeling before an archbishop who is nimbed and seated on a throne. Over the head of the kneeling figure is a scroll inscribed 'Richard Tunnoc;' and at the bottom of the window are the remains of an inscription, very much mutilated, in which the following words are legible: 'Richard . . . noc me fist . . .' I have been informed by my friend Rev. J. Raine, the biographer of the Archbishops of York, that in 1320 Richard Tunnoc was one of the sheriffs of York, and that there was a chantry in the Minster, at the altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury, founded for the repose of the soul of Richard Tunnoc, citizen of York."

XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE EAST WINDOW OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

(From the Archæological Journal, vol. xx. 1863.)

IF it were possible for any one to suppose that Gothic architecture was indigenous to these northern regions, a glance at the windows of the earlier buildings in the style might suffice to undeceive him. The smallness and fewness of the openings, and deep colours of the glazing, are alike suggestive of a climate where a blazing sun exacts this homage to his power. The instinctive desire, under an obscure sky, for light, is exemplified by the increased size given to the windows as the architecture gradually became acclimatised, and by the diminution of their colouring. And after Gothic architecture, in its turn, was superseded by another exotic style better suited to modern wants, a happy appreciation of the popular love of light characterises the works of the greatest of our national architects, Sir Christopher Wren.

It is interesting to follow the progress of these changes, and observe their relation to each other, in the mediæval styles of architecture and glass-painting.[1] In the Norman style, and in the earlier part of the Early English, whenever the use of much white glass occurs, it should be regarded as a submission to dire necessity. But the employment of white glass in large quantity, as a matter of choice, is observable in the latter part of the

[1] According to Rickman's nomenclature, which seems as intelligible as any that has since been invented, the Early English style of architecture, which succeeded the Norman towards the last quarter of the twelfth century, was in its turn succeeded by the Decorated in the last quarter of the thirteenth, and this again by the Perpendicular in the last quarter of the fourteenth.

There is no style in painted glass coeval with the Norman in architecture, the glass found in Norman buildings really belonging to the Early English style of glass-painting, which was succeeded by the Decorated about 1280, and that by the Perpendicular about 1380. The Cinquecento style in glass-painting, which was concurrent for a while with the Perpendicular in architecture, commenced about 1500, and ended in 1550.

Early English period; and it continued throughout the Decorated, in an increasing ratio to the coloured. With the Perpendicular style—the style of architecture which we in England associate with the idea of "walls of glass"—occurred a remarkable change in the glass manufacture. The coloured glass was made less deep, and generally speaking more even in tint, alterations absolutely necessary to suit it to the more finished mode of painting then adopted, and which culminated in the cinquecento; and white glass, whiter than before, was used in increasing profusion. The result is of course to occasion the transmission of a greater amount of light through the glazing. These changes were accompanied, at particular epochs, with remarkable alterations in the details of the design; peculiarities on which the antiquary mainly relies as affording indications of date, and which are nearly, but not strictly, synchronous with changes in the corresponding details of the architecture—the change in the architectural detail usually preceding by a few years that in the painted glass.

A remarkable illustration of this fact is afforded by the great east window of Gloucester cathedral, and its glazing. The stone framework of the window is an early but decided example of the Perpendicular style, and the painted glass is a pure example of the Decorated. So pure is it indeed, that, but for the incontrovertible evidence of date afforded by the heraldry in the window, we should hesitate to proclaim it to be one of the latest instances of the Decorated style of glass-painting. It presents no feature really indicative of the great change of style which was then imminent. Its material,[1] its mode of execution, the use of "smear-shading,"[2] the forms of the human features, especially of the eye and nose, all are such as any well-pronounced specimen of the style exhibits. The general design, too, of the glass-painting, though in some respects novel, is in strict accordance with the rules of the Decorated style, and has no resemblance to a Perpendicular example, except in the very large proportion which the white glass in it bears to the coloured.

The design of the glass-painting will be more readily com-

[1] The red used is the "streaked" sort, which ceased to be manufactured soon after the middle of the fourteenth century. The peculiarity of its appearance is owing to the mode in which the metallic copper, its principal colouring material, is precipitated in the process.

[2] The difference between "smear" and "stippled" shading is explained in the 'Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass Paintings, by an Amateur,' vol. i. pp. 16, 125. The one is characteristic of the Decorated, the other of the Perpendicular style. See also Archæological Journal, ix. p. 47, and ante, p. 80.

prehended by a reference to that of the stonework, which is shown by the accompanying diagram (fig. 1).

It will be seen that there are towards the top of the central portion of the window two tiers of lower lights more than in the wings of the window. The space left blank in the diagram, towards the bottom of the window, is occupied partly with solid stonework, partly with lights open to the Lady Chapel, and which never have been glazed.[1]

The remains of the original glass plainly show that the tiers of lights in the wings of the window, marked B B, B B, were filled with patternwork principally of white glass, the lights being glazed with white quarries, each ornamented with a star, and having a narrow edging on its two upper sides so arranged as to form, when the quarries are placed together, a reticulated pattern; and being bordered with an ornamental pattern of white and yellow foliage and flowers on a red ground. These borders are cut through by the arched tracery bars shown in the diagram. At present they pass into the spandrels of the lights in the tiers A A, A A. It is more probable that these spandrels were originally filled with ornamented quarries, like the spandrels of the tiers B B, B B, C C, and the pierced transom which separates these tiers. The lights in the tiers A A, A A, retain none of their original glazing. It is most likely that they were treated in the same way as the lights of the tiers B B, B B.

The lights of the tier C C were quarried and bordered precisely in the same way as the lights in the tiers B B, B B. And they were enriched by the insertion, in the upper part of the light, of an ornamented panel containing a shield of arms, and, in the lower part, of a small ornamented roundel. The original panels remain in all the wing lights: in the centre lights they have been destroyed, and in four of these lights a second row of shields has been inserted at a late period. The loss of some of the original shields from the centre of the tier is also to be regretted.

The lights throughout the next tier, D D, are each filled with a canopy enshrining a single figure. The canopy base serves as a

[1] In plan this window forms a shallow bay, its centre being slightly advanced eastward, and joined with the wings at obtuse angles. Though the Gloucester window is larger than the east window of York Minster, yet, if we consider the extent of the glazing, it is only the second largest window in the kingdom which retains its original glazing. The Gloucester window is about 72 ft. high and 38 wide, and the York window, which is entirely glazed, about 78 ft. high and 33 wide. The contract for glazing the latter is dated 1405.

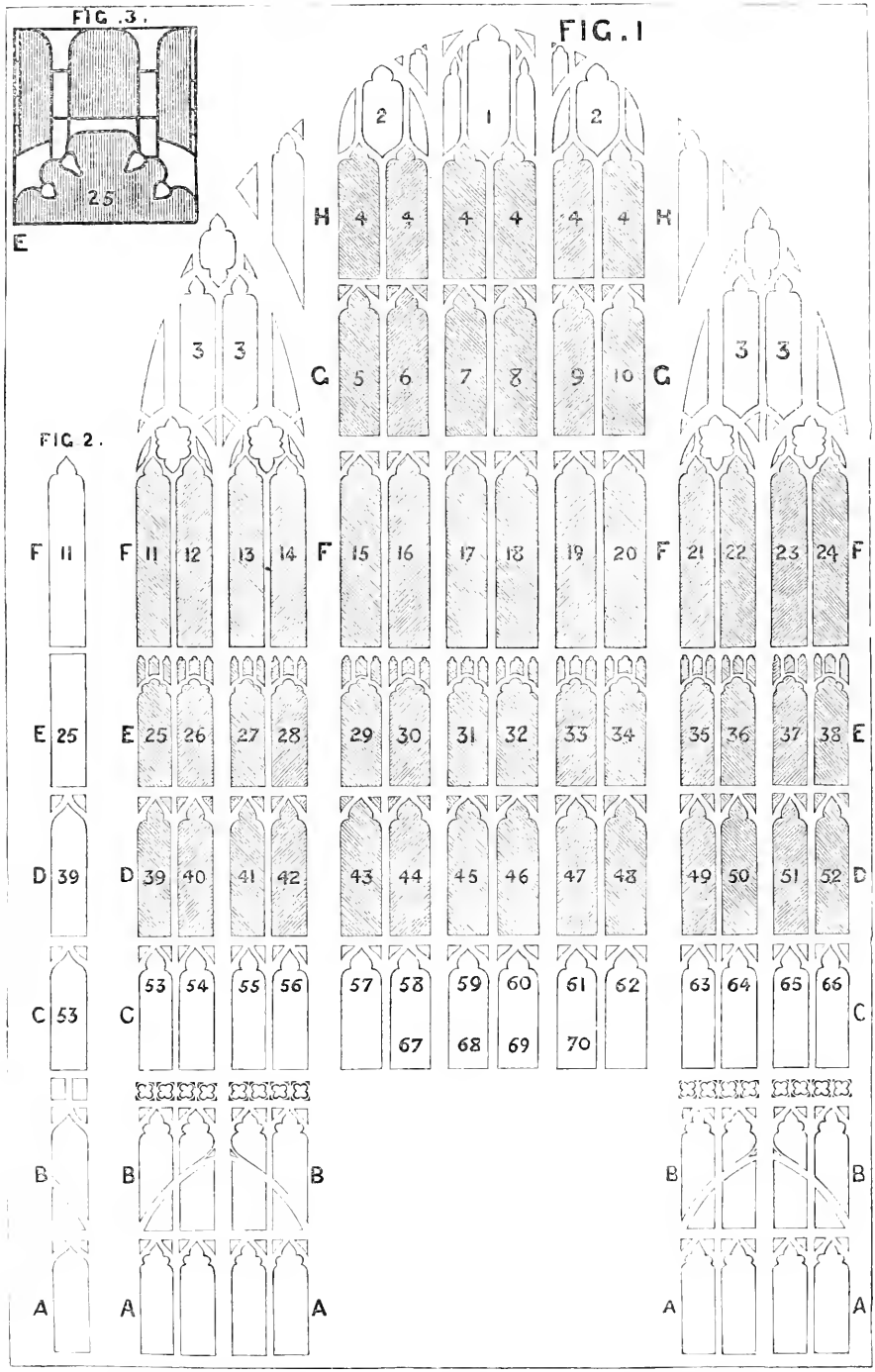

Diagram illustrative of the East Window of Gloucester Cathedral.

pedestal to the figure, and occupies the entire width of the light; a fact worthy of observation on account of the proof it affords that the series of shrinework in the window, the position of which is indicated by the shading in the diagram, was intended to commence in this tier of lights, and not in any lower tier. The canopy is of simple design, consisting of side jambs which support a flat-fronted arched hood, surmounted with a tall crocketed pediment terminating within the light in a finial. On each side of the pediment is represented, in very strange perspective, the side of a part of a high-pitched roof which may be supposed to run parallel with the front of the window, and to cover the niches of all the canopies in this tier. The side jambs do not terminate in this tier of lights, but proceed upwards, without further interruption than that occasioned by their being cut through by the stone framework, behind which they appear to pass, into the lights of the next tier; through which they again proceed, and so on, until those in the wing lights terminate in finials in the tiers F F, F F, and those in the centre lights in the tier H H. The side jambs support, in each of the lights of the tier E E, a flat-fronted arched canopy hood, surmounted with a high crocketed pediment, which terminates in a finial in the centre light of the pierced transom above; and in each of the lights of the tier F F, F F, a flat-fronted arched canopy hood surmounted with a high crocketed pediment, behind which rises a lofty crocketed spire, terminating within the light in a finial. In like manner, in each of the lights of the central tier G G, is supported a canopy hood, the spires and pinnacles of which ascend into the lights of the tier H H, which they occupy, and where they terminate.

As before mentioned, each canopy, pediment, and spire terminates in a finial. But from behind each of the pediments in the tiers D D, E E, and of the spires in the central tier F F, there issues a shaft, which proceeds upwards into the light immediately above, where it finishes in a bracket, having no connexion with the canopy jambs, and which serves as a pedestal for the figure in that light. Thus the figures in the tier E E stand upon brackets ultimately supported by the pediments in the tier D D; those in the tier F F, F F, upon brackets virtually sustained by the pediments in the tier E E; and those in the tier G G upon brackets supported in like manner by the spires in the centre tier F F. But the spires in the wing tiers F F and F F, and in the centre tier H H, are not surmounted with any shafts; which shows clearly that the termination of the shrinework in these

tiers of lights is original. In corroboration of this I may add that the heads of the lights in the wing tiers F F and F F, and in the centre tier H H, are, alone of the lights containing the shrine-work, each bordered with a narrow strip of plain white glass.

The shrinework is entirely, and the figures are almost entirely, composed of white glass, enriched with the yellow stain. It, as well as the figures, is backed with red and blue glass in alternate vertical stripes. The colours of the stripes are denoted in the diagram by the direction of the diagonal lines of the shading. The shading from left to right indicates red,—that from right to left, blue.

It will be perceived that the centre stripe occupies the space of two lights, and is red, and that the other stripes are of the width of one light apiece, and alternately blue and red. The general effect of the window is that of a series of white canopies and figures upon a coloured ground. The continuation of the same colour perpendicularly alike through the spire-grounds and niches of the canopies, imparts breadth to the design, whilst monotony is prevented by the alternation of the red and blue stripes; and great point and prominence are given to the centre of the design by the double width of the middle stripe, and its red colour.

The remains of the glazing of the tracery lights show that this portion of the composition was formed of a pattern of white glass, enriched with a few coloured ornaments. The small holes in the tracery are filled with plain pieces of white glass, and the other lights are bordered with plain strips of the same material, and filled with white quarries ornamented like those in the lower part of the window. The topmost light, No. 1, is now occupied with the figure of a pope,[1] and canopy, both of the fifteenth century. In all probability this light was originally filled with ornamented quarries, and it is not unlikely that it was enriched as the lights Nos. 2, 2, are, with a large five-pointed flaming star of yellow pot-metal glass, or some similar ornament. The lights Nos. 3, 3, 3, 3, are each adorned with a small ornamental roundel in white and yellow stained glass.

Thus the general design of the window may be divided into three parts. The lower part, and top, consisting of a silvery expanse of white ornamental work; and the middle, of a grand series of shrinework, rendered the more imposing by its towering centre and bold horizontal summit. Though richly coloured,

[1] The figure wears a triple-crowned tiara, and holds a double cross. I suspect it was brought from the Lady Chapel.

especially towards the top, this part of the composition contains so much white as to prevent its forming too decided a contrast with the rest of the window. The disproportion between the white ornamented space below, and that above the shrinework, which appears in the diagram, is in reality not felt, on account of the partial obscuration of the lower part of the window by the mass of the Lady Chapel; and which, by varying the colours, greatly increases the beauty and effect of the design. The Lady Chapel that existed when the window was put up, though smaller than the present, was large enough to have produced a somewhat similar effect; a circumstance which may have determined the designers of the glass shrinework not to carry it lower than the fourth tier of lights from the bottom.

As a doubt of the originality of the present arrangement has, however, been expressed, it is hoped that the following considerations may assist in dispelling it.

The principle of filling the middle part of a window with shrinework highly enriched with colour, and the upper and lower parts with little else than white patternwork, was too commonly adopted throughout the Decorated period to render it necessary to quote instances of the practice. And though the elevating of the centre of the shrinework above its flanks, as in this example, is as unique in this country as it is striking and beautiful in effect, it should be recollected that similar arrangements may be observed in Continental designs contemporaneous, or nearly so, with it. Again, the general arrangement of the upper part of the design of the east window harmonizes with that of the clearstory windows of the choir. These windows, five in number on each side, at present retain sufficient fragments of their original glazing to indicate its design. Each of these windows is divided by stonework into two tiers of lower lights and a head of tracery. The four lights of the lower tier each contained a figure[1] and canopy, coloured

[1] No part of these figures remains, which prevents the fact of any removals thence into the east window (however probable) being tested by admeasurement. Parts of no less than six figures, coeval with the glass in the clearstory, may be seen, as insertions in the lower part of the east window of the Lady Chapel. The lights of the lowest tier in the four windows on each side of the clearstory next the east window, range nearly with the lights of the tier F F, F F of that window, being, however, somewhat shorter than the latter; they are also about 3 in. wider than the widest lights of the east window, *i.e.* the six central lights. They, therefore, may be conceived to have originally contained figures somewhat larger than those in any part of the east window. The corresponding lights in the fifth clearstory window on each side are of the same width as the central lights of the east window.

probably like those in the east window, but the rest of the window was filled with patternwork, composed almost entirely of white glass; each light of the upper tier being glazed with white ornamented quarries, and enriched with two ornamental roundels of white and yellow stained glass, or with two small coloured panels of ornament. It is true that these lights were furnished with borders, like those in the lower tiers of the east window, c c, &c., on a red ground; but the greater size of these lights, compared with any of those in the tracery of the east window, rendered this slight addition of colour necessary to prevent poverty of effect. The tracery lights of the clearstory windows were, like the tracery lights of the east, bordered only with plain strips of white glass, and filled with ornamented quarries, and a small roundel of white and yellow stained glass was inserted in each of the two principal tracery lights of each window.

Moreover, all the little pieces of plain white glass which, as before mentioned, fill the triangular and other small openings in the tracery of the east window, were, until the recent rebuilding of the stonework, undoubtedly *in situ*: a circumstance of itself sufficient to prove that the upper part of the window always had a *white ground*. The glazing also of such of the tracery lights as were coeval with the stonework had been formed exactly to fit the openings, and the glass had always been cut with the grozing iron, and not with the diamond, and was universally retained in leadwork of the same age as the glass.

These facts cannot reasonably be reconciled with the theory that the glazing of the tracery lights has been transferred from the lights at the bottom of the east window, which, as before remarked, have lost their original glass, or indeed from elsewhere.

Features occur in the east window which certainly evince a desire to avoid unnecessary expense; but this, as it seems to me, proves only that our mediæval ancestors were wiser men than modern enthusiasts imagine them to have been. I allude principally to the simplification of the glazier's work in the heads of the lower lights. This has been effected by making the outside of the stone framework plainer than the inside, and fitting the glass to the plainer openings. Fig. 2 represents an exterior view of a column of lights, showing how much of the ornamentation that is visible from the inside is hidden by the glass from a spectator on the outside of the building. The painted glass borders in the foliated heads of the lights in the tiers A A,

A A, B B, B B, C C, do not conform to the cuspidations, but each follows the course of the plain ogee panel, into which the glazing is fitted: so that the border, when seen from within, appears to be cut and partially hidden by the cuspidations which are before it. Again, instead of the openings in the transom, which is immediately above the lights of the tier E E, being glazed separately, the topmost glazing panel of the light beneath is prolonged upwards, and fitted into the square-headed panel shown in fig. 2. Plain white glass is indeed used to cover those portions of the stonework which are overlaid by the glazing panel, as shown in fig. 3, where the shaded part represents the painted glass, and the plain part the white. But if the intention was not merely to economise the colouring material, but also to allow of the stonework being seen from the outside, the latter object has been frustrated by the strong local colour of the white glass, which effectually conceals the stonework. The same principle of forming a window-frame more ornamented on the inside of the glass-line than without is partly adopted in the great west window; and I should not have alluded to the circumstance, if it, and a certain awkward finishing of the shrine-work in the wing lights of the tier F F, F F, had not been adduced to prove that the original design of the window was not fully carried out as intended.

The figures in the window have suffered severely, especially those in the lights of the south wing. Scarcely one remains entire; portions more or less important of the original glazing having been lost, and supplied by glass of various dates, several are reduced to little else than a mere congeries of fragments. Seven figures, and parts of three others, may I think be pronounced to be insertions, and presumed, with the exception of one figure which is of later date, to have been taken from the clearstory windows of the choir.

Enough, however, remains to indicate the nature of the original design. Its leading subject was, the enthronement of the Blessed Virgin. The principal group is placed in the two central lights of the tier F F, F F, and was attended by twelve apostles. The tier above, G G, was occupied with angels; the tier E E, with various saints; and the tier D D, with figures of ecclesiastics, intermixed, perhaps, with those of one or two kings.[1]

[1] Some curious arrangements of apostles and saints, illustrative of the feelings of the times, are given in Mrs. Jameson's work, 'Sacred and Legendary Art,' vol. i. p. 147. The following has been supplied by the kindness of a friend.

From S. Lorenzo fuori il Muro—

Of the angels, five remain *in situ*, as is indicated by their attitudes, and the contrasting, in each case, of the colour of the nimbus with the ground of the canopy niche. The figures are arranged in pairs, looking or turned towards one another. Thus, Nos. 5, 7, and 9 regard the south, and Nos. 8 and 10 (No. 6 is a late insertion) the north.

The figure of the Virgin is placed in the light No. 17. It is crowned, enthroned, and regards the figure of our Lord, which occupies the adjoining light, No. 18. There is reason to believe that this figure also, which now appears to be standing, was enthroned. Of the apostles, St. Peter stands in the first place of honour, No. 16; and St. Paul in the next, No. 19. Both are turned towards the principal group. The two next figures, St. John the Evangelist in No. 15, and St. Thomas in No. 20, are turned from it, evidently for the sake of artistic effect. In No. 14 St. Andrew is recognised by his cross, and in No. 12 St. James the Less by his club. Two other sainted personages, similar in appearance to the rest, but without attributes, occupy Nos. 11 and 13. These four figures are all turned towards the principal group, and therefore regard the south. So far as we have gone, all the figures in this tier may be considered to be *in situ*. On the opposite side of the window, the feet only, and part of the draperies, of two apostolic figures remain in the lights Nos. 23 and 24, and in attitudes showing that the figures to which they belonged must have been turned towards the north. The figures of kings in the lights Nos. 21 and 22, and in the upper parts of the lights Nos. 23 and 24, are certainly not *in situ*, nor do they appear to have belonged to this window.

The figures in the two next tiers, E E and D D, were originally arranged in the same way as the angels in the tier G G, in pairs, looking or turned towards one another. I believe that all those

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Pelagius, St. Lawrence, a Saint, Christ, St. Paul, St. Stephen, a Saint, query St. George? All but the first are nimbed.

From the Lateran—St. Paul, St. Peter, Virgin Mary, Christ, St. John Baptist, St. John Evangelist, St. Andrew.

Below in the same composition—St. Jude, St. Simon, St. James (an inkhorn), St. Thomas, St. James (a book), St. Philip, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Matthias. All these are nimbed.

Old Tribune, near the Lateran—St. Luke, St. Paul, Christ, St. Peter, St. Andrew.

Below—St. Barnabas, St. Thaddeus, St. James, St. Matthew, St. Philip, St. John, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Simon, St. Matthias, St. Mark.

In Sta. Maria Trastevere—Innocent, Lawrence, Calixtus, the Virgin, Christ, St. Peter, Cornelius, and some other legendary saints.

which occupy the lights Nos. 25 to 36 inclusive are *in situ*, Amongst them may be recognised St. Cecily, in No. 25; St. George, in No. 26; St. Canute (?), in No. 28; St. Margaret, in No. 29; St. Lawrence, in No. 30; and St. John Baptist, in No. 32. Of these figures, Nos. 25, 27, &c., regard the south, and the alternate ones the north. Subjected to the test afforded by attitude, the figure in No. 37, which is turned towards the north, is certainly not *in situ;* and from the large size of the heads, and other circumstances, I think that both this and the next figure, No. 38, are insertions.

In the tier D D there is reason to believe that all the figures are *in situ*, except those of kings in Nos. 46, 47, and 48.

Subjected to the test of attitude, the figure No. 46 is certainly not *in situ;* and its large size militates against its being considered an original one. The same remark applies to the figure No. 47, as also to the upper part of the figure in No. 48, and with the greater force, since in the lower part of this light may be perceived the remains of an ecclesiastical figure, turned, according to its right order, northwards. We have, therefore, in the wing lights of this tier, proceeding in the same order from the centre, a series of ecclesiastics, mitred, or bareheaded, but all fully vested, and holding pastoral staves, or crooks; the mitred individuals occupying the lights Nos. 42, 40, 49, and 51; and the bareheaded, the alternate lights in the wings, and Nos. 43 and 44 in the centre. It is impossible now to ascertain to which class the remains of the figure at the bottom of the light No. 48 belonged; nor is it quite certain to which No. 44 originally belonged, the glazing round the indent of the head of this figure not being trustworthy. But if No. 46 originally was occupied with the figure of a king, and if the royal personage represented in No. 45 is really *in situ*, we might, perhaps, conclude that the unity of the design was preserved by the figures of two bareheaded ecclesiastics, occupying the lights Nos. 47 and 48.

I have hazarded no conjectural identifications of such figures as are undistinguished by symbols, distinctive habiliments, or other attributes, and which, apparently, having been drawn from one common model, exhibit but little individuality. Those who are inclined to pursue the subject further will find a fuller description of the figures in the following catalogue, as well as the reasons upon which this brief criticism has been principally based:—

5. An angel with a blue nimbus holding a palm-branch, and turned towards the south. The wing is coloured in bars, the upper one being white, the centre blue, and the end yellow. The hair of the head is stained yellow.[1]

6. A little of the original canopy-work remains, but the rest of the glazing belongs to the fifteenth century, and represents the Virgin and the Holy Infant. The borders of the draperies have been ornamented with coloured pieces of glass stuck on in the way recommended by the Monk Theophilus,[2] but these additions have fallen off. The crown on the Virgin's head might at first be mistaken for one of classical character; its form is, however, due to the ingenuity of some glazier in modern times, who has substitued points for the original leaves round the circlet.

7. The remains of an angel, similar to No. 5; having a blue nimbus, and turned towards the south. The figure has suffered much. The head is of the fifteenth century.

8. An angel, like No. 5, having a blue nimbus, and turned towards the north.

9. An angel, like No. 5, having a red nimbus, and turned towards the south. The head and upper part of this figure are of the fifteenth century.

10. An angel, like No. 5, having a blue nimbus, and turned towards the north.

11. A male figure, having a blue nimbus, holding a book in the left hand, and turned towards the south.

12. A male figure, having a red nimbus, and holding a club, the handle of which is of yellow stained glass, and the end of blue glass. The figure is turned towards the south, but the eyes regard the north.—St. James the Less.

13. A male figure, having a blue nimbus, holding a book, and turned towards the south. This figure is much mutilated.

14. A male figure, having a red nimbus, and pointing with the left hand to an X cross, coloured green. The figure is turned towards the south, but the eyes regard the north.—St. Andrew.

15. A male figure, with a blue nimbus, holding a palm-branch in his left hand, and with an eagle perched on his right, looking into his face. This figure is turned, and looks towards the north.—St. John the Evangelist.

16. A male figure, having a light blue nimbus (the colour of the niche is deep blue diapered),[3] and holding two keys in his right, and a model of a church in his left hand. The figure is turned towards the south.—St. Peter.

17. A female figure, crowned, and having a blue nimbus, seated, and looking towards the figure in No. 18. Though seated, it is as tall as the other figures which stand erect.—The Virgin Mary.

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[1] When no colour is expressed, white glass is to be understood.

[2] See the translation of ch. xxviii. of the 'Diversarum Artium Schedula, of Theophilus, given in the 'Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass-paintings, by an Amateur,' vol. i. p. 337, and note (k), p. 28, ibid. The work of Theophilus is said to have been written about 1220; see Arch. Journ. vol. xix. p. 347.

[3] The ground of this entire column of lights, viz., 16, 30, 44, is blue diaper, as was that of the column containing Nos. 19, 33, 47. The ground of the spires of the canopy of No. 47 is diapered, but the ground of the niche is not, a corroboration of the opinion elsewhere expressed, that the figure in this light does not belong to this window.

18. A male figure, crowned, and having a green nimbus, with a white cross in it (the niche ground is red, and, unlike the other red ground, is diapered). The mantle is fastened with a purple-coloured morse. The figure regards that in No. 17. The right hand is raised in benediction; no stigma is shown. The left hand, lower part of the body, and feet, have been lost, and the ground of the lower half of the niche is not original. What remains of the drapery is not inconsistent with the belief that the figure, when perfect, was seated. This figure doubtless represented Our Lord.

19. A male figure, with a light blue nimbus (the niche ground is deep blue diapered), holding a sword in the right hand, and a book in the left. The face is lost. The figure is turned towards the north.—St. Paul.

20. A male figure, without a nimbus, the head draped and bearded, holding a spear in the right hand, and a girdle in the left. The figure is turned towards the south.—St. Thomas the Apostle.

21. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, and holding a sceptre; no nimbus. The lower part of the body is a mere mass of fragments. It is turned towards the north, but, being of a larger scale than the other figures in this tier, I cannot suppose it to be one of the original figures of the window.

22. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding a sword in the left hand. The right is lost; no nimbus. This figure is very much made up of fragments; it is apparently of the same scale as the original figures in the tier, and is turned towards the north; but I think it is an insertion.

23. In this light are the remains—clearly an insertion—of the upper half of the body of a royal person, crowned, holding a sword in the left hand, but having no nimbus. The face is of the fifteenth century. The lower part of the body is a mass of fragments. The pedestal is lost, but its indent remains; and just above it are two naked feet and some drapery, whose attitude shows that the figure to which they belonged—probably that of an apostle—was turned towards the north. There is no doubt but that this fragment is part of an original figure.

24. This light also contains the upper half of a male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding a sceptre in the left hand, but having no nimbus, turned towards the south, and of the same scale as No. 21, and clearly an insertion. The pedestal remains, and one naked foot and some original drapery rest upon it. From the position of the foot and drapery, it is evident that the figure to which they belonged—probably that of an apostle—was turned towards the north. There is no doubt but that this fragment is part of an original figure.

25. A female figure, with a blue nimbus, having a wreath of red roses on her head, and a book in her right hand. This figure is turned towards the south. It is perhaps the best drawn of the series.—St. Cecily.

26. A male figure, turned towards the north; in a plate skull-cap and hauberk of mail, over which is a white cyclas, bearing a red cross, and lined with green. On the hands are gauntlets of plate. The legs are in plate. The spurs are rowelled. The figure holds a spear in the right hand, without a pennon. The left hand rests on the sword-handle. A dagger is placed on the right side, and a shield, white, with a red cross, hangs partly over the left side and arm, suspended from the neck by a strap. No nimbus.[1]—St. George.

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[1] We have seen that St. Thomas is also represented without a nimbus. It was not uncommon to omit the nimbus from St. George. Such a figure occurs in a window at Aldwinckle St. Peter's, Northamptonshire, with the name of the saint, however, written underneath. This glass is of the time of Edw. II.

27. A female figure, having a blue nimbus, and holding a book in her right hand. The figure, which is much mutilated, is turned towards the south.

28. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding two arrows in the left hand, and turned towards the north. No nimbus. The figure stands on a piece of green turf overlying the pedestal.—St. Canute (?).

29. A female figure, as may be concluded from some tresses of hair which lie on the shoulders. The face is lost. The figure, which has a blue nimbus, and is turned towards the south, is treading upon a dragon, and presses down a spear, which enters its mouth, and goes out at its neck.—St. Margaret.

30. A male figure, with a red nimbus, tonsured, in mass vestments, turned towards the north, and holding a gridiron painted black.—St. Lawrence.

31. A female figure, crowned, holding a sword in the right hand, and a book in the left, turned towards the south. No nimbus.—St. Catherine (?).

32. A male figure, with a blue nimbus, clad in a short white drapery, fringed all round, and reaching to the calf of the leg. The legs and feet are naked. The right hand is lost, the left remains; it did once support some tolerably large object (such as an *agnus Dei*), now lost. The figure, which is turned towards the north, stands on a piece of green turf overlying the pedestal. —St. John the Baptist (?).

33. The head of this figure is gone, and the whole body is shattered to pieces. It has a red nimbus. Amongst the fragments are a left-hand glove, holding what may have been a pastoral staff, and a right-hand glove raised in benediction, as well as one foot, shoed. From the position of the hand holding the staff, I conclude that the figure was turned towards the south.

34. This figure is also a mass of fragments. It has a blue nimbus. The head is lost. Amongst the fragments are a left hand holding a sword, and a right (neither is gloved) playing with the belt or girdle of the figure. From the position of the hands, especially of the right, I conclude that the figure was turned towards the north. The probability is that this and the former figure are original.

35. Apparently a male figure. The head is lost; it has a red nimbus. The left hand is placed on the breast, the right supports a thick knotted staff or club, coloured green. It is turned towards the south, and appears to be an original figure.

36. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding a sceptre in the left hand, and turned towards the north. The lower half of this figure is made up of fragments. No nimbus. It appears to be an original figure.

37. The head of a male figure, wearing a patriarchal hat, coloured pink, in the front of which has been inserted a small square piece of white glass, of the fifteenth century, representing a head of Christ, with part of the nimbus. The figure is a mere mass of fragments, and is a good deal shorter than the original figures of this tier. From its looking towards the north, it cannot be *in situ*, and, owing to the large scale of the head, I think it did not belong to this window. It has no nimbus.

38. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes; no nimbus. The whole, except a small portion of the upper part of the body, and the feet, is made up of fragments. The figure was turned towards the north, but, on account of its large scale, I think it is not an original figure.

39. A male figure in mass vestments, tonsured, holding a pastoral staff in its left hand, and turned towards the south. None of the figures in this tier of lights has a nimbus.

40. A male figure, mitred, in mass vestments, the right hand in benediction,

the left holding a pastoral staff. The lower half of the figure is much mutilated. It is turned towards the north.

41. A male figure, in mass vestments, tonsured, holding a pastoral staff in the right hand, and a book in the left. The figure is turned towards the south.

42. A male figure, mitred, in mass vestments, the right hand in benediction, the left holding a pastoral staff. The figure is turned towards the north.

43. A male figure; the head is of the fifteenth century, and it is impossible to determine whether the original head was mitred. The figure is very much mutilated. The fragments show that the remains are those of a figure turned towards the south, supporting a pastoral staff with the right hand, and holding a book in the left.

44. This figure is a mass of fragments. The head is lost. The indent is clearly that of a tonsured head, not mitred; but as none of the original background remains, it is impossible to be certain of the originality of the indent. Part of the collar of a cope, crossed with a staff, as of a pastoral staff, remains, from which it appears that the figure was turned towards the north. The probability, therefore, is in favour of its being an original figure. The head of the pastoral staff, and the hand introduced as supporting it, are of the fifteenth century.

45. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding a sceptre in the right hand, and a mound surmounted with a very lofty cross in the left. Very little of the original drapery below the waist remains. The space from the feet to the knees is constructed of fragments. The figure is turned towards the south. It is of the same scale as the original figures of this tier, and I have no reason to suspect its not being one of them.

46. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes, holding three arrows in its left hand, and turned towards the south. The hands, face, and hair of this figure are coloured pink, the hair being of a deeper tint than the countenance. As this figure is half a head taller than any of those in this tier, it cannot belong to it; nor does its size admit of its having belonged to the window.

47. A male figure, crowned, in royal robes; the right hand points to a sceptre held in the left. Part of the white robe is made of spoiled or imperfect ruby glass. The feet remain, but all above, to the middle of the figure, is a mass of fragments. The figure is turned towards the south. It is of the same scale as the last, and I think it does not belong to this window.

48. The upper half of this figure is made up of fragments. The face is lost, but there is a crown over it, and a right hand holding a spear. The lower part of the figure is that of an ecclesiastic in mass vestments, with a book in the right hand, and a pastoral staff in the left. The position of the hands shows that this figure was turned towards the north; from which I conclude that it was an original figure. I should add that the scale of the remains of the upper figure might entitle it to be considered one of the original figures of the window displaced.

49. A male figure, mitred, in mass vestments, the right hand in benediction, the left holding a pastoral staff. The figure is turned towards the south. It is much shattered.

50. A male figure, in mass vestments, tonsured, holding a pastoral staff in the right hand, and a book in the left. The figure is turned towards the north. In the amice is inserted a piece of blue glass, round like a jewel, which seems original.

51. This figure is a mere mass of fragments, amongst which may be seen a

mitre, turned towards the south, and a right hand, gloved, holding a staff, probably a pastoral staff. I believe that this, as well as the last, are the remains of original figures.

52. This figure is so completely destroyed that the fragments of which it is composed afford no indication of what it may have been.

The heraldry to which allusion has been made consists of the eight shields in the wings of the window, all which upon a careful examination I believe to be *in situ;* and of ten coats in the centre lights. Of the last, those numbered 57, 62, 68, and 69, may be discarded, as being plainly of later date than the rest of the glazing. The difficulty has been to determine the originality of the remaining six coats. I have arrived at the conclusion that of these only two, Nos. 60 and 70, form part of the original series; Nos. 58, 61, and 67 belonging to an earlier period, and No. 59 to a different set. But, as it is impossible to express in writing those trifling peculiarities which distinguish dates in painted glass, I must request the reader who may be disposed to dissent from my opinion to suspend his judgment until he shall have actually examined the glass himself.

53. *Gu.* a lion rampant *or;* Richard Earl of Arundel. This shield may be regarded as a fair type of the eight shields in the wing lights. These shields are nearly of the same size, varying in length from 13¼ in. to 14 in., and in breadth from 10½ in. to 11 in. They are on panels, each panel having a white diapered ground, except No. 66, the ground of which is light blue diapered; a change of colour apparently dictated by the white field of the shield. A small ornament, as before mentioned, was inserted in the lower part of each of the lights. Those now remaining are, in Nos. 53 and 66, a double triangle; in 54, three white, and in 56, three green leaves conjoined; in 57, a double square; in 62, a double rose; in 63, a figure on a red ground striking at a ball with a crooked stick; and in No. 64, a triangle interwoven with a trefoil.

54. *Gu.* a chevron (lost, but probably) *arg.* between ten crosses patty *arg.;* Thomas Lord Berkeley.

55. *Gu.* a fess between seven cross crosslets *or;* Thomas Earl of Warwick.

56. This shield, which is upon a panel, is wholly made up of fragments, amongst which may be observed part of a narrow bend *arg.* charged with three mullets pierced *gu.*, now placed in pale; and also some fragments on a diapered blue field. The material used seems to be of the same date precisely as the ori-

ginal glazing of the window. I am therefore disposed to think that the shield to which the charge belongs was one of the original series, and the Northampton coat, *az.* on a bend *arg.* between two cotises and six lions rampant *or* three mullets *gu;*[1] William Earl of Northampton.

57. *Arg.* two bendlets indented *gu.* and *vert;* Ruyhall.[2] This shield, which is not on a panel, is 15¼ in. long and 10½ in. broad, and therefore considerably exceeds any of the panelled shields in size. It also greatly differs from them in shape. The texture of its glass, the presence of *smooth* ruby, the style of its diaper, the tenderness and want of precision of the painted lines, concur in indicating a date as late probably as 1385. It clearly forms no part of the original glazing.

58. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *or;* King of England. This shield, which is not on a panel, is only 13 in. long and 10½ in. broad, and is therefore considerably smaller than the panelled shields. The lions are drawn in a much earlier style than those in Nos. 60 and 70, after described, from which, and the circumstance that the coat is neither differenced nor quartered with France, I conclude that it is of an earlier date by several years than the panelled shields.

59. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *az.* semy of lis *or*, 2 and 3, England (now lost and replaced with modern glass, representing *or* a bend *az.*); King of England. This shield, which is not on a panel, is 14½ in. long and 11 in. broad, and is therefore sensibly larger than the panelled shields. The glass may be of the same date as the original part of the window, but the size of the shield, and the different character of the fleurs-de-lis, as compared with those in Nos. 60 and 70, strongly incline me to the belief that the coat is not one of the original series.

60. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *az.* semy of lis *or*, 2 and 3, three lions passant guardant in pale *or*, a label *arg.;* Edward the Black Prince. This shield, which is not on a panel, is 13½ in. long, and 11 in. broad, and therefore agrees in size with a panelled shield. The lions and fleurs-de-lis are drawn in precisely the same style as those in No. 70, and the texture of the glass is identical with that of the original part of the window. I think it is one of the original coats. The quarterings of

[1] The same coat formerly existed in the east window of Longdon church, Staffordshire. In the Gloucester example, the eye or piercing of the mullets is denoted by a small black ring; in the Longdon, if I remember right, it was shown by a black dot.

[2] See Nash's 'Worcestershire,' vol. ii. p. 86.

England are formed of plain pieces of yellow pot-metal glass, on which the lions are painted in outline. Another example of this very common practice of simplifying glazier's work is afforded by No. 63.

61. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant *or*, a bend *az.*; Henry of Lancaster.[1]

This shield, which is not on a panel, is only 12½ in. long and 10 in. broad, and is therefore considerably smaller than the panelled shields. The lions are drawn in a decidedly earlier style than those in Nos. 60 and 70, and precisely resemble those in No. 67. I think that the glass may be put as early as 1310 or 1315, and therefore that it forms no part of the original glazing.

62. This shield, which is not on a panel, is made up of a coat clearly of the fifteenth century, which exhibits the instruments of the Passion, and partly of fragments added to make it of the some size as the other shields.

63. Quarterly, 1 and 4, barry *arg.* and *az.* an orle of martlets *gu.* 2 and 3, —— a maunche ——; Lawrence, or John, E. of Pembroke.[2] The Hastings quarterings (properly, *or* a maunche *gu.*) are formed of pieces of pot-metal yellow glass, on which the maunche is drawn in outline. In the third quartering the field is smeared over with brown paint.

64. *Gu.* a lion rampant and bordure engrailed *or*; Gilbert, or Richard, Lord Talbot.

65. *Gu.* a chevron *erm.* between ten crosses paty *arg.*; Sir Maurice de Berkeley.

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[1] If I am right in my supposition as to the date of this coat, it would be that of Henry, son of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, borne during the lifetime of his brother, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, who was executed in 1321. See Archæological Journal, x. p. 329.

[2] This very early example of two coats borne quarterly, viz. Valence and Hastings, deserves a passing notice. The grandson of Earl Lawrence is commonly said to have been the first English subject that bore such a coat. See, however, Archæological Journal, ii. p. 343. John de Hastings, the grandfather of Earl Lawrence, married one of the sisters and coheiresses of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and died in 1313, leaving by her a son, John, his heir, who died in 1325, leaving Lawrence, his son and heir, an infant. Being one of the coheirs of the last Earl, he was declared Earl of Pembroke by Edward III., while in Flanders, in October, 1339, which was a short time before that king quartered France and England. The Earl appears to have soon followed this example, and he placed the arms of Valence, like those of France, in the first and fourth quarters, as the more honourable coat. A yet earlier example of a quarterly coat borne by an English subject occurs in the roll of arms, t. Edw. II., that of Sir Simon de Montagu, being in modern blazon first and fourth *arg.* a dance (or fess fusily) *gu.*; second and third *arg.* a griffin *or*.

66. *Arg.* on a quarter *gu.* a rose *or;* Thomas Lord Bradeston.

67. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant *or,* a label of France; Thomas Earl of Lancaster.[1]

This shield, which is not on a panel, is only 13 in. long and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad, and is therefore considerably smaller than the panelled shields. The lions are drawn in precisely the same style as those in No. 61, with which coat the present seems coeval. It clearly forms no part of the original series.

68. Quarterly, 1 and 4, *az.* semy of lis *or,* 2 and 3, *gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *or,* a label of three points *arg.,* each point charged with as many (circles in outline hatched with dark lines, a common way of representing) torteaux; Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, 1385-1402.

This shield, which is not on a panel, agrees in character in every respect with the date above indicated, and clearly forms no part of the original series.

69. France and England quarterly; King of England.

This shield, which is not on a panel, is of the same date as the last, and forms no part of the original series.

70. *Gu.* three lions passant guardant *or,* a label of France; Henry Earl of Lancaster.[2]

This shield, which is not on a panel, has lost part of its upper edge; but if completed, it would be of the same size as one of the panelled shields. The lions and fleurs-de-lis are drawn in the same style, and the glass is of the same character, as in No. 60. I believe that it is one of the original coats.

The date which I should feel obliged to assign to the glass-painting in this window, upon a consideration of its style and execution, irrespectively of the heraldry, would be some time between 1340 and 1350.[3]

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[1] See note to No. 61.

[2] He was only son of the Henry of Lancaster whose coat I have supposed No. 61 to be, and who was restored as Earl of Lancaster in 1327. He succeeded his father as Earl of Lancaster in 1345, and was created Duke of Lancaster in 1351, having been previously created Earl of Derby in 1337.

[3] A consideration of the style and supposed date of other painted windows would render it difficult to assign to the Gloucester glass a date later than 1350. Indeed, the difference of style between it and the glass in the west window of Winchester Cathedral is so marked as to make me desirous to put the one as early, and the other as late, as probability will allow. I have reason to think that the Winchester glass is the work of Bishop Edington, who died in 1366 (see notice of the painted glass at Winchester, in Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, at their meeting there in 1845, p. 3, and p. 65 of the present volume). The style of this glass is transitional, but it partakes much more of the character of the glazing in New

I propose now to inquire what more precise date is indicated by these coats of arms. For this purpose we must devote our attention exclusively to the original coats. Of these, which were fourteen in number, it has been shown that there are ten remaining, viz. those of the Black Prince; Henry Earl of Lancaster; Richard Earl of Arundel; Thomas Lord Berkeley; Thomas Earl of Warwick; William Earl of Northampton; Lawrence, or John, Earl of Pembroke; Gilbert, or Richard, Lord Talbot; Sir Maurice de Berkeley; and Thomas Lord Bradeston; and that all these are *in situ*, except those of the Black Prince and the Earl of Lancaster. Of the four missing coats no doubt that of Edward III. (France and England quarterly) was one. Yet it is evident that this was not a group of the arms of the king and princes of the blood, and the nobles allied to them, in the latter part of the reign of that sovereign, such as occurs occasionally. Nor was it a group of the arms of families in the county, or of any family and its alliances; nor is there any reason to suppose that they were the arms of some of the principal benefactors to the abbey; nor is it likely that these noblemen would have joined in presenting this window, and on that account have had their arms placed in it. They are, in fact, the arms of a prince and certain noblemen renowned for military talent and bravery, who distinguished themselves in the wars in France under Edward III.; and their coats were in all probability displayed in this window to do them honour, or to commemorate companionship in arms.[1] Let us then proceed

College Chapel, Oxford, which probably was put up between 1379 and 1386 (see Archæological Journal, ix. p. 46, and p. 146 of the present volume), than of the Gloucester glass. The more exact date, 1347 or 1348, which the heraldry enables us to assign to the Gloucester window, is in most strict accordance with probability, nor is it inconsistent with any of the ascertained dates of the building. It may be conceded that the east window was already glazed when Abbot Horton's work (consisting of the interior fittings of the choir, see Professor Willis's sketch of the History of Gloucester Cathedral, Archæological Journal, vol. xvii. p. 336) was begun, in 1368. To my learned friend Mr. W. S. Walford my best acknowledgments are due for the assistance he has afforded me in dealing with the heraldic question involved in the window.

[1] In the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, we learn from two witnesses of the Hastings family examined 10 Rich. II., that their grandfather had, sixty years before, placed in a window in his own chapel the coat of Geoffrey le Scrope because they had been fellow-soldiers. The coats of other friends may have been there also, but the object of the examination required only the mention of the Scrope arms. A more singular mode of manifesting friendship by means of heraldry appears in the evidence of the Prior of Merton, examined in the same year. Sir Alexander de Neville, an uncle of the then Lord Neville, had a surcoat or jupon (*cote d'armes*) embroidered with his own arms, and all the quarters filled with small escutcheons of the arms of his

to ascertain what we may infer from these escutcheons as to the time when this glass was executed.

John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, succeeded his father Lawrence in 1348, when only about a year old; we may therefore confidently assume that this coat would not have been placed in this window in compliment to the son as early as 1362, for he was then a boy of not more than fifteen years of age. To a later date the heraldry cannot with any probability be referred, because in the year last mentioned the arms of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and also those of William Earl of Northampton, had been discontinued; for the former died in 1361, without issue male; and the latter died in 1360, and his son and heir became in the year following the head of the family, by succeeding his uncle in the earldom of Hereford; when he no doubt ceased to bear this differenced coat, which had been his father's. Add to which, Thomas Lord Bradeston had died in 1360, leaving an infant grandson his heir. We must therefore go back to 1348, or a trifle earlier, when Lawrence de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, was living. Very little farther back can we go, because the Black Prince was only ten years old in 1340, and was not knighted till 1346. It is therefore highly probable that this glass, if it were not executed in 1347 or 1348, was designed or ordered then, and executed within a year or two after.

It appears that we have in the window a group of the arms of some of the heroes in the campaign of 1346-7, which is famous for the victory at Cressy, and the successful siege of Calais. The Black Prince, as is well known, commenced his glorious career at Cressy. He led the first division, being assisted by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford; the second was under the command of the Earls of Arundel and Northampton; and the third was commanded by the King in person. Thomas Lord Berkeley, his brother Sir Maurice de Berkeley, Richard Lord Talbot, and Thomas Lord Bradeston, who were all in that expedition,[1] were probably among the combatants as bannerets, though I find no special mention of them on that occasion. The Earl of Lancaster was not at Cressy; he had been sent to Guienne, and was besieged in Aiguillon by the Duke of Normandy; for the relief of which place was originally destined the army that landed in

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friends. His arms were *gu.* a saltier *arg.* a martlet *sa.* Roll, t. Edw. III., edited by Sir H. Nicolas.

[1] Barnes's History of Edward III., p. 340 *et seq.*, and Dugdale's Baronage.

Normandy, and fought at Cressy, and very soon afterwards invested Calais. With that Earl was Lawrence Earl of Pembroke, who had already acquired a great military reputation for so young a man. One effect of the victory at Cressy was the raising of the siege of Aiguillon; and these two earls, after some raids in the south of France, returned to England, and a few months afterwards joined the King before Calais.[1]

The siege of that town, which commenced in September, 1346, continued till the 4th of August, 1347. It was there that, in the latter year, Sir Maurice de Berkeley was killed. In the following year the Earl of Pembroke died, being little more than thirty years of age. The cause of his death I have not found mentioned; possibly it was some malady induced by exertion and exposure at the siege. It is not improbable that the three missing coats (in addition to the royal arms) were those of the Earls of Oxford, Hereford, and Huntingdon, who all held important commands in the campaign. Although Sir Maurice de Berkeley and the Earl of Pembroke may have been dead before this glass-painting was executed, it would have been quite natural under the circumstances to include their coats in commemoration of them, whether we suppose the window to have been presented by one of their fellow-soldiers, or put up by the abbot and convent.

It will be observed that the barons whose arms are displayed were not the most distinguished of those who were at Cressy or Calais; but they and Sir Maurice de Berkeley were all more or less connected with the county of Gloucester; Lord Talbot having, as it would seem, only one manor within it. The Earl of Pembroke held numerous lordships in the adjoining marches of Wales.

If I were to hazard a conjecture as to the person to whom we are indebted for this noble window, I should say it was Lord Bradeston. He was of the county, and was a vassal of the lord of Berkeley, having held some knight's fees of that honour. A

[1] The urgent summons for these two earls and others to go to the king's assistance may be seen in Rymer (new ed.), iii. p. 120. No doubt they both obeyed. That the Earl of Lancaster did is well known; and Dugdale, on the authority of the *Rotuli Francix*, states that the Earl of Pembroke, "in 21 Edw. III., was again in those wars" (*i.e.* in France). Edward was at that time threatened with an attack by all the force which the King of France could bring against him. Both these earls, before they went to Guienne, had served in Flanders with all the other noblemen above mentioned whose arms were originally in the window, except perhaps Richard Lord Talbot.

fortunate as well as a valiant soldier, though the beginning of his career was rather ambiguous, he gained the favour of Edward III., who in the fifth year of his reign confirmed to him for life the Castle, Barton, and Tyne of Gloucester, which he had previously obtained through the influence of Queen Isabella.[1] This acquisition must have made him of some importance in the town and neighbourhood. According to Dugdale, he and Sir Maurice de Berkeley were inseparable companions, and were created bannerets at the same time. In 1342 he was summoned to Parliament. Now, on the supposition that he was the donor, the arrangement of the arms is in accordance with the sentiments of the age. The arms of the king, the prince, and the earls, have the most honourable places; except that the coat of Lord Berkeley, whose barony was a very ancient one, and whose vassal Lord Bradeston was, is placed amongst those of the earls; while the coat of Lord Bradeston himself is in the least honourable place, though as a baron he was of higher rank than Sir Maurice de Berkeley; but next before it is that of his deceased friend Sir Maurice. Had Lord Berkeley, or the abbot and convent, put up the glass, I should have expected Lord Berkeley's coat to have been where we find the Earl of Pembroke's, and Lord Bradeston's in the place of Sir Maurice de Berkeley's.

The conclusion, however, which the foregoing remarks warrant as to the date of this glass, is not affected by any uncertainty in regard to the person by whom it was presented or the cost of it defrayed. Seeing how very closely the result of the evidence afforded by the heraldry agrees with that derived from an examination of the style and execution of the various subjects and details throughout, I think I am fully justified in stating that the conception of this truly interesting glass-painting may be attributed to 1347 or 1348, and that it was completed within a year or two after that date, and most probably not later than 1350. This opinion has been formed with the more confidence as the evidence afforded by this ancient monument has happily not been destroyed or tampered with by any modern restorer.

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[1] This grant was made to him for his life at a yearly rent payable to the Exchequer. Some change, however, in the terms of his tenure seems to have taken place, for Dugdale mentions that about 33 Edw. III. he was appointed governor of Gloucester Castle, with 60*l.* a year for that service. This was the year before Lord Bradeston's death, and he is said to have died seised of the castle, with a meadow called Castle-mead, and the Tyne called Castle Coule. See Dugd. Baronage, ii. pp. 138, 139. The Tyne was probably some newly-enclosed ground.

All critical investigators of ancient monuments, all lovers of truth and genuineness, are but too well aware of the terrible significance which the misapplied word "Restoration" has acquired of recent years. The ravages of time, the obliteration and confusion consequent on repeated repairs, or the much-abused churchwarden's "beautification," are really trifling evils compared with that careful and elaborate eradication of trustworthy features, which is always found to be the more absolute and complete as we are assured that a "restoration" has been "skilful," "costly," or "thorough." It is seldom that an ordinary workman evinces a love of unnecessary mischief, or that he possesses knowledge enough to enable him to do extensive injury: but where the so-called "Restorer" comes, he rarely fails to make an utter devastation, leaving the puzzled inquirer no means of forming an opinion more satisfactory than one based on the merest conjecture, as to what may have been the original import or appearance of the work.

To the Archæological Institute may be ascribed the credit of having rescued the interesting window above described from this destructive process. The stonework had so far yielded to the effects of time as to necessitate its being rebuilt, and the lead-work of the glazing was so decayed as to render its complete repair imperative. Application was not unnaturally made by the Cathedral authorities to some leading firms of glass-painters for advice as to the course to be pursued in respect of the painted glass. Each recommended a "Restoration," varying only in extent. One proposed merely a restoration of the missing parts of the existing design; two others were for improving upon it,—the one, by "working out the idea of a Heaven in the tracery;" the other, by "filling the entire window with rich glass." These schemes were much considered during the meeting of the Institute held at Gloucester in 1860. And upon its appearing, from a careful examination of the glazing in its then untouched state, that a restoration of the missing parts of the existing design would necessarily be for the most part conjectural, and that it would at all events involve the introduction of so much new glass as must of necessity have completely changed the general aspect of the window, it was wisely determined by the Dean and Chapter, at the earnest recommendation of several members of the Institute, to preserve the wreck that remained by a mere releading of the glass, and to attempt nothing in the way of restoration, beyond supplying such insignificant parts of the

coloured grounds as were wanting with modern glass of corresponding hue.[1] So rigidly has this determination been adhered to, that even the figure at the top of the window (No. 1), which is evidently not *in situ*, has been reinstated: an expressive intimation that things were left as they were found.

The archæological inquirer has, therefore, precisely the same means of investigation now as he would have had before the recent repairs, if we except such guidance as the ancient leadwork supplied, and which was useful chiefly for the assistance it afforded in determining the authenticity of the glazing of the tracery lights; and the artist may study the remains of the original glass and observe its fine tone and texture as heretofore. Having had occasion to compare these notes, written for the most part before the glazing was moved, with the window since its repair, I could detect no other difference in its appearance than what would naturally result from the glass having been unavoidably freed from a good deal of the whitewash and mortar which in course of years had encumbered its surface.

Apart from the historical associations which attach to every ancient work, and pre-eminently to the present, it may be doubted whether the Gloucester window does not owe most of its popularity to the fine tone and rich hue of its glass. It would be impossible to meet with white glass that is more solid and silvery in effect; the red is beautifully varied, and is most luminous even in its deepest parts;[2] and the tone of the blue can hardly be surpassed. It must also be admitted that the general design, through the size and simplicity of its parts, is calculated to produce a good and distinct effect at a distance, and that the execution of the painting, rough and imperfect though it be, is, on account of its crispness and boldness, well adapted to the

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[1] The following statistics may not be uninteresting. The glazing of the window, when taken down, amounted to about 2000 square feet; and weighed, including the leadwork, about 35 cwt. It was entirely releaded for 600*l.* by Mr. Hughes, of Frith Street, Soho, whose reparations of the north rose window of Lincoln Cathedral, and of a window at North Moreton church, Berks, have been noticed in the Archæological Journal, vol. xiv. p. 211, and vol. xviii. p. 153, and p. 222 of the present volume. The estimates of the other glass-painters for the proposed restorations alluded to in the text were as follows: for the first, 1141*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*; for the second, 1700*l.*; for the third, 1170*l.* Their moderation is not questioned.

[2] Any modern red glass which should equal in hue the deeper portions of the original red glass used in this window would be nearly opaque; whereas all the old is clear and transparent: the reason for the difference being that the laminæ of colouring matter are at a greater distance apart in the old streaked ruby than in the modern smooth ruby.

nature of glass, so potent of its kind. But here our admiration should stop. Like all other mediæval works in painted glass, the present is open to the gravest criticism. The figures are ill-drawn, ungraceful, and insipid. The shading, though sufficient both in depth and quantity, if handled with skill, to have produced a due effect of relief—an effect which obviously had been aimed at—is so inartificially employed as to be useful only so far as it serves to impart tone and richness to the composition, and by contrast to increase its brilliancy. Every part of the figure, and all the members of the shrinework, seem to be equally in the same plane; though the real depth of the design, as shown by the lines of the drawing, and the very nature of the composition, is considerable.[1] Whatever general distinctness of effect it possesses is due to the completeness with which the simple forms of the white figures and canopies are cut out and insulated by the coloured grounds, an achievement of no great difficulty.

I make these remarks not in a spirit of disparagement—the work was a great one in the uncritical times in which it was executed—but in the hope, if possible, of arousing attention to the lowness of the standard to which we, who deem ourselves so enlightened in the nineteenth century, are labouring to conform

[1] All antiquaries know that the "ironed-out-flat" style was never peculiar to pictures on glass, but equally characterises the wall and easel pictures of a time when art was in its immaturity. If we condemn the feature in the one case, we cannot consistently regard it with favour in the other. I was concerned to read in so sensible a print as the *Athenæum* (20 Dec. 1862), certain critical dicta on glass-painting, which, with a pretended air of philosophy, reduce the art to mere coloured glazing. The writer supports an objection to the use of a well-known picture by a German artist as a design for a glass-painting, by asking, "Can anything be more absurd than the idea of a transparent man?" and he goes on to say, that in a glass-painting all the "details must be treated decoratively, not pictorially, and so far conventionalised that in no way do they imitate, as a picture rightly does, the aspect of life, otherwise we come to transparent men." This hardly requires any serious refutation. According to our critic, the representation of a man rendered visible by the agency of transmitted light is "a transparent man;" not a transparent representation of a man, as ordinary persons might be disposed to consider it. His objection, if sound, would exclude from representation in painted glass all objects but those which are by nature pellucid. Imperfection, however ludicrous, in the imitation of an opaque object, would fail to render it admissible. For a representation of a man, treated decoratively, and so far conventionalised as in no way to imitate the aspect of life—such as the knave of spades—if transferred to a painted window, would still be "a transparent man," as much as, *and no more than*, the most lifelike and pictorial representation of such an object in painted glass could be. Are we to give up, for the theories of such a critic as this, the practice of the best ages and greatest artists in glass-painting?

in our Church decorations:[1] a circumstance which would be utterly inexplicable did not experience show that a fashion, in every age, has never been the less omnipotent on account of its absurdity, or even ugliness.

[1] Nothing could be worse, as a whole, than the English specimens of glass-painting at the International Exhibition of 1862; or indeed more discouraging, considering the immense sums expended of late on this species of decoration. The Royal Commissioners would seem to have preferred to render their awards absolutely valueless by distributing prizes to the bad and indifferent alike, rather than to waste time on a critical investigation, which probably could not have been attended with any very beneficial result.

From Adderbury Church, Oxon.

XV.

REMARKS ON THE PAINTED GLASS AT LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.[1]

(From the 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xxi., 1846.)

THE beautiful glass-paintings which occupy (amongst others) the seven eastern windows of the choir of Lichfield Cathedral belonged originally to the Abbey of Herckenrode, in the old episcopal principality of Liége. They are of the Italian-Flemish school, and appear from dates upon them to have been executed between 1532 and 1539. After the destruction of the abbey, the glass passed into the possession of Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart., who transferred it to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, by whom it was placed where it now is, in or about the year 1803 (A).[2]

At the present time, when the very refuse of the Continent is sought for, and even forgeries of ancient painted glass occasionally command high prices, such an acquisition would have produced no slight sensation, and a knowledge of the surpassing merit of these windows would have been generally diffused by means of the press. As it is, there is perhaps no work of equal importance in this country so little known or appreciated.

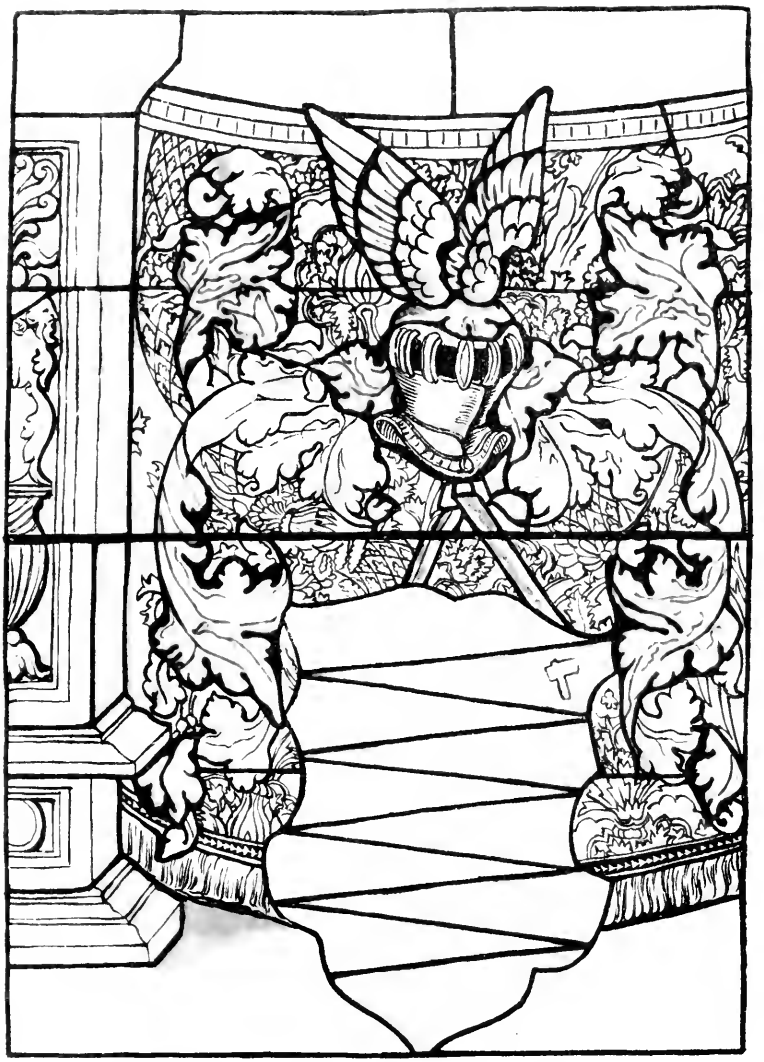
To the antiquary this glass may appear less interesting than that in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, to which so many historical and local associations attach; but it must always be an object of the deepest interest to the student of glass-painting, anxious to trace the progress of the art, and to ascertain the method by which such striking and beautiful pictorial effects have been produced.

To those who have recently examined the painted glass in the Beauchamp Chapel[3] it may seem somewhat surprising that both

[1] Read on the occasion of the visit of the Archæological Institute to Lichfield, July 29, during the Annual Meeting held at Warwick, 1864.

[2] This and other letters between brackets refer to notes at the end.

[3] The painted glass in the Beauchamp Chapel was a special subject of interest at the Meeting at Warwick; a Discourse on it, communicated by the author of this Memoir, forms the subject of that which follows.



LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL

Charles Winston del. Philip Delamotte Litho. Vincent Brooks

examples should have been produced by precisely the same technical process (B); and that the difference in effect between them, which we cannot fail to observe, should be entirely due to the greater skill of the artists who executed the works now under consideration.

We are familiar with the expression "the new method," by which Vasari and other writers on art designated the practice of the great painters of the Renaissance. The influence of this practice is shown as clearly in the Lichfield windows, as is that of the hard, dry, flat style of the pictorial art of their day in the windows of the Beauchamp Chapel. And surely, if the "new method" of the Renaissance (the invention, be it remembered, of the greatest artistic geniuses whose works have come down to us) is admirable, and is admired in all other kinds of painting, we may well ask why should its adoption in glass-painting alone be deemed wrong? In what does the impropriety consist? Is any essential or fundamental rule of glass-painting thereby violated? I feel that a glance at the windows at Lichfield ought to set these questions at rest. But, as the works of the Renaissance in painted glass have been of late years systematically decried by a certain class of writers, not merely on account of their style, as being in the Italian and not the Gothic manner (a question with which we need not concern ourselves), but upon the broader ground that their design and mode of execution (matters perfectly distinct from style) are essentially erroneous, I trust that I shall not be deemed tedious if I endeavour briefly to show that in works like those at Lichfield there really is no violation of the conditions imposed by the nature of glass, considered as a material affording a means of art. I am not aware, indeed, of the existence of any conditions that can be supposed to prohibit an artist from producing as perfect a pictorial effect in a glass-painting as he is able, provided he does not unnecessarily or excessively reduce the transparency and brilliancy of the glass.

The principal objections urged are, I believe, that the artists of the Renaissance ought not to have attempted pictures in painted glass, or anything higher than mere coloured mosaics, because the nature of glass is such that more complete and perfect pictures can be produced by other methods of painting; that their works are overshaded, and therefore unsuited to the nature of a translucent material; and that the attempt to form a picture in glass is always accompanied by a diminution, in a certain degree, of the depth of colouring.

The first objection can easily be disposed of, upon the ground that it tends unnecessarily to limit the resources of art. Experience shows that we take delight in various methods of representation, some of which are certainly not less imperfect than glass-painting; and that an artist's power in meeting and overcoming technical difficulties always forms a large ingredient in our estimate of his abilities.

To the second it may be answered, that, though it is true that translucency is the essential characteristic of a painting upon glass, and that any practice tending unnecessarily to reduce it must be vicious, yet, as it is impossible to give force and expression to a glass-painting without some diminution of its transparency, the extent to which obscuration may properly be carried becomes a question of degree. Thus we rightly condemn the use of enamel colouring, that is to say, the method of colouring glass with enamels, instead of (as in the windows at Lichfield) using for the coloured parts of the picture glass coloured in its manufacture, and not afterwards, and which is as transparent as white glass itself. For though more varied and even truer effects of colour are obtainable by means of enamels, such gain is disproportioned to the loss of effect through the dulness and want of brilliancy occasioned by the use of enamel colouring. But the employment of an opaque enamel colour for the purpose of producing the chiaroscuro of a picture in glass is legitimate, if confined within reasonable limits.

The third objection must necessarily fall to the ground upon its appearing that pictorial compositions of a higher nature than mere mosaics are allowable in painted glass, as being unopposed to any rule of glass-painting; for, without using colours varying in degrees of depth, it would be impossible to impart requisite distinctness and relief.

In determining the various questions involved, we naturally turn to ancient examples as affording the best means of comparison and selection. But, before submitting ourselves to the teaching of antiquity, we should do well to bear in mind that mediæval architecture and mediæval painted glass stand upon a very different footing. The one had reached a point high enough to place it in the first rank of the architectural styles of the world, at a time when the art of representation on a plane surface (including glass-painting) was comparatively in its infancy. The latter, as is well known, did not attain perfection in the north of Europe until the period to which these very glass-paintings belong, and not until after the decline of Gothic

architecture. The accidental association therefore of the earlier styles of glass-painting with Gothic buildings is far from proving that any necessary or scientific connection exists between the best Gothic architecture and the state of the art of representation as then practised in glass-painting. Nor ought we to be deterred by any such association from condemning, along with their bad drawing, the confusion and want of relief which in a greater or less degree characterise all the painted windows executed previously to the second quarter of the sixteenth century. It is observable, however, that the most keen opponents of cinquecento art justify, on the score of taste, their preference of what may be familiarly designated the "ironed-out-flat style" in painted glass—a style in which complicated compositions intended to represent objects occupying various distances from the eye are so inartificially drawn, shaded, and coloured, as to look as if they had all been compressed flat into one plane, as is exemplified in old windows. (C.)

It may be admitted that a composition of a flatter nature than is absolutely demanded by the conditions of glass-painting might occasionally be employed with advantage, if it was treated artistically, and did not exhibit (like the ironed-out-flat style) the flatness which results merely from feebleness and imperfect knowledge. And such a glass-painting, in proportion to its simplicity and approach to a mere mosaic, might display a more uniform degree of brilliancy, and a more uniform expanse of the deepest colouring, than would be possible in one of a more complex and pictorial character. But it would be found very difficult to design such a composition upon a very large scale; nor would its style be suitable for general adoption, since it would necessarily confine the subjects of glass-painting to a very few, and those of the simplest nature. Practically, therefore, our choice would be in favour of glass-paintings more nearly approaching the character of pictures (of which class those at Lichfield, and other contemporary works, might be considered to be the type) on its appearing that they exhibited the highest pictorial effect of which glass-painting can be rendered capable, without violating that condition of the art which forbids undue obscuration of the material. That they do not infringe this rule is actually proved by those most opposed to the style in question, who occasionally place in invidious comparison with "the overloaded (with enamel) and overshaded cinquecento," mediæval works in which shadow not unfrequently occurs equal in quantity, and even more opaque than what was used in the cinquecento style.

It is a fact that the fourteenth-century figures and canopies in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral are more profusely and densely shaded than the pictures at Lichfield, and other examples might be adduced. Doubtless the effect of relief thus produced in these early works is very inferior to that in the Lichfield glass-paintings; but this, after all proper allowance has been made for the difference of material, is found to be due only to the greater skill and knowledge with which the shading in the later works is executed: the aggregate amount of obscuration is about the same in both instances. Nor, indeed, do the Renaissance glass-paintings of this particular period, although so pictorial, and exhibiting such masses of shadow, at all suffer by comparison with the most brilliant mediæval examples. On the other hand, the comparative dulness of glass-paintings of a later date, though scarcely attended by any corresponding advantage, proves that the obscuration of the material had reached its proper limit in such works as those now under consideration. That these glass-paintings also exhibit the greatest pictorial effect of which glass is legitimately susceptible, is manifest on comparing them both with earlier and later examples.

The radical error of the earlier works of the Renaissance is the complicated nature of their composition; that of the later is the complicated nature of their chiaroscuro; for to deal with either composition or chiaroscuro successfully would require resources not possessed by the glass-painter. His difficulties spring from the fewness of the glass colours, their uniform brightness, the impossibility of providing hues and tones to modify or unite them, and the imperfect means of imitating light and shade.

The evil attending the use of too complicated compositions is shown in the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and the east window of St. Margaret's church, Westminster (D). These are mostly overcrowded with groups of figures extending backwards into the extreme distance, which is elevated to an absurd height in order to display them. The background occupies too large a proportion of the picture to admit of its being executed in the few retiring tints which glass supplies, without injury to the general colouring; other colours are therefore necessarily introduced, which come as forward as those in the foreground (E). The effect is flat and confused, however skilfully the light and shade may be managed. To a certain extent the same fault is observable in such of the glass-paintings at Lichfield as exhibit groups of figures in the distance, and

especially where the colours used are primary, or strongly contrasted.

We become only the more sensible of the disagreeable effect occasioned by the attempt to produce complicated chiaroscuro in painted glass, by contemplating the very works in which the experiment has been carried out with the most success, viz., those large pictures on glass, common towards the close of the last and at the commencement of the present century, which were faithfully copied from oil-paintings especially remarkable for the breadth and variety of their light and shade. The glass, like the canvas, is shaded all over gradually from a point of light; but it is immediately perceived that an extensive mass of shadow in glass fails as an imitation of shade. It looks flat, dry, and even flimsy, and suggests rather the idea of a dirty window that has been sprinkled with drops of rain, than of clear immaterial gloom, such as is so well expressed by the shadow in an oil-painting (F). To the same cause, the attempting too much in the way of chiaroscuro, may be traced the dulness of almost all the glass-paintings that were executed after the middle of the sixteenth century.

Subject to these introductory observations, I would invite attention to the manner in which the difficulties of the art have been met or evaded, and its resources developed, in the glass at Lichfield. Whether it was dictated by a profound knowledge of the material or by timidity, by the influence of traditional rules or by some happy chance, we must admit that the end proposed was admirably adapted to the means.

The picture is extremely simple in its composition, consisting of a foreground group, a landscape background of a sketchy character, and a clear blue sky. As a rule, it is represented as if seen through an architectural framework or canopy, which is more or less connected with the group by means of piers or columns introduced in the background. The whole is harmoniously coloured upon a principle of relief and general resemblance to nature. The more positive colours, and those possessing the greatest degrees of depth, are confined to the foreground, being used in the group and in the ornaments of the architectural framework. The more qualified—the lighter shades and retiring tints—are employed in the background and sky. The architectural framework or canopy is composed principally of white glass shaded with brown, and enriched with yellow stain. It is adorned with garlands and other ornaments in which, as being the objects nearest the eye, the colours are

with propriety harmoniously contrasted. In the group harmonious gradations of colour occur, though, on account of the nature of the material, the harmony of contrast prevails. Its colouring is moreover so arranged that the eye is insensibly led up to some striking point or spot, produced by the decided introduction of one of the primary colours, or by a strong contrast, which gives light and spirit to the composition. In the distance and sky the harmony is that of gradation or resemblance. In general the most successful pictures are those in which the landscapes are wholly formed of different tints of grey, modified with brown shading and the yellow stain, for in these windows the space occupied by the landscape and sky is intentionally so confined by the architectural framework, or by some other means, as to prevent its colour presenting too extensive a mass. The horizon is sometimes lighter, sometimes darker, but always more solid in appearance than the sky, which is left clear and transparent; whilst the brilliancy of the landscape is necessarily more or less subdued by the enamel brown used in the drawing and shading. The architectural distances are generally rendered with much fidelity and consistency. They are worked out chiefly on white glass with drawing and shading, and the occasional addition of the yellow stain. To a certain extent the colours are united and brought together by the enamel brown with which the chiaroscuro of the picture is represented, but the harmony of the colouring depends principally on the skill shown in arranging the pieces of coloured glass. It is true that all the colours used are very modified in their tone, more so indeed than those of any other period, but this has only rendered their harmonious disposition so much the less difficult.

In the subject of Christ before Pilate the harmony of colouring is effected principally by contrast. In the picture above, Christ bearing the Cross, it is produced chiefly by gradation of resemblance. In the subject of the Day of Pentecost a curious example is afforded of gradation of colour worked out very completely. One of the most beautiful, as well as most picturesque, of the architectural backgrounds is that in the Lord's Supper, in the east window.

The force and expression of the picture are of course chiefly given by its chiaroscuro. And, bearing in mind what has been said of the ill effect of very extensive masses of shade in painted glass, it is remarkable that here, as in the works generally of this period, the shadows are always confined within comparatively narrow limits. The chiaroscuro, though very powerful, is

extremely simple. The requisite relief is imparted by means rather of strong but harmonious contrasts, than by gradations of light and shade.

The subjects are treated as if they were seen in the open air, whatever their situation may be. A point of light is barely if at all distinguishable. It is seldom that a figure, even in the rear of a group, is entirely in shade. The light is usually made to fall on all the figures alike, and the dark or shaded side of one figure is contrasted and relieved against the light side of the next. For the more extensive shadows necessary to give breadth and relief to the composition, recourse is had to the soffits or roofs of the architectural framework, under or behind which the group is placed, and which are deeply shaded. A pillar, or other architectural accessory, is not unfrequently represented in shadow behind the group. The shaded soffit is contrasted with the clear sky and with the full light on the front of the architectural framework or canopy; the shaded pillar or other accessory is contrasted with the landscape background, which is represented in full light, or with the sky. Instances of these various modes of producing relief by means of shadows of limited extent may be met with in nearly all these glass-paintings. The artifice is most shown in the subject of the Annunciation on the north side of the choir; the principal mass of shadow here is on the roof of the apartment within which the scene occurs, and it is remarkable how small is the extent of its deepest part: the effectiveness may be readily estimated by covering this portion of the picture with a book or the hand. It is most concealed in the subjects of Christ before Pilate, and the Incredulity of St. Thomas. In the former, which is the most effective of all the pictures, there is an unusually large quantity of shade in the sunken arched panel which surmounts the lintel of the opening through which the group is viewed; but it is so artfully disguised by means of the full lights introduced on the arabesques spread over the panel, and by their golden colour, as not to catch the eye. In the latter subject there is not only the dark pillar in the background, but an accidental shadow is cast upon the tribune behind the group, the scroll-work on the top of which comes darkly across and gives value to the bright landscape in the distance.

The result of these various experiments and contrivances has been the production of a series of pictures in painted glass, harmonious in their colouring, simple and intelligible in their composition, distinct and powerful in effect, yet always brilliant and translucent. They also display a very advanced state of art

in the grouping and figure-drawing, and, as works intended to be seen from a moderate distance, they are of unsurpassed merit. It is probable that, if the three apsidal windows had been painted for the situation they now occupy, and of which so distant a view is obtainable, they would have been designed in a simpler and severer manner, more approaching the style of those most powerful and striking of glass-paintings, the windows in the chapel of the Miraculous Sacrament and in the transepts at Brussels Cathedral (G).

I am aware that in this necessarily brief and imperfect statement I may have failed to do justice to the subject. My object is to induce that actual study of these windows at Lichfield which will supply all my deficiencies. Whilst examining them we must constantly bear in mind that, although they have hitherto fortunately escaped "restoration," they have suffered materially from three centuries of exposure to the weather. The whole outer surface of the glass has become corroded, by which not merely the high lights, but the unpainted parts, have been toned down and subdued, and thereby not only a flatter appearance has been imparted to the windows than they must have possessed when recently executed, but even much of the effect intended by the contrast of the clear brilliancy of the sky with the comparative obscurity of the painted figures, architecture, and landscape, has been lost.

Great however as these works are, they are objects of study, not of servile imitation. If ever the time come when the practice of glass-painting shall be taken up in England at the point where the Renaissance left it, even the best existing glass-paintings will be found susceptible of improvement. No advance has been made beyond such productions as the Lichfield windows, except in some recently executed by the modern Munich school. That school, after nearly half a century spent in the consistent treatment of glass-painting as a branch of fine art, has lately abandoned the vicious practice of colouring glass with enamels, for the purer, though infinitely more difficult, method of the Renaissance, at the instance of those true patrons of the art who conceived and have carried out the greatest modern work of its kind, the adornment of Glasgow Cathedral with painted glass. The chief improvement displayed at Glasgow is the employment of many new and additional tints of coloured glass, which have enabled the artists more easily to blend them, and to avoid repeating in the backgrounds the colours used in the foregrounds. The evil of this is seen in the tendency of some of the white

objects in the Lichfield foregrounds to unite with the architectural distances. The avoidance of distant groups and of any strong contrasts of colour in the backgrounds is also an improvement; and so is the occasional enlivening of the horizons by the introduction of rosy tints, kept in their place by means of a blue enamel legitimately applied in the same way as the ordinary shading. Some of the figures are indeed noble works of art, but art has always characterised the Munich school. In colouring and power the Glasgow windows are inferior to those at Lichfield. Their material, like all ordinary modern glass, is comparatively flimsy, and its colours are crude; the general treatment also is rather of the kind suitable to fresco, which requires light colours and light shadows for effect at a distance, than that proper to a glass-painting, which, being by nature translucent, demands deep shadows and much powerful colouring to prevent its appearing weak. We must expect, however, that the Munich artists will rival the old glass in both particulars long before our glass-painters can approach it in either, unless we renounce our practice of encouraging the production of works that will bear no comparison with the high standard we usually propose to ourselves in secular art (H). Archæology is not art, nor will a great artist ever condescend to become an archæological pedant. If we could transfer him from the influence of the art of the modern world to the exclusive study of some phase of mediæval art, we should only cramp his energies, and at best create a learned mannerist resembling a professor of religious painting in Russia.

Supplementary Notes.

A.—The Abbey of Herckenrode (equivalent to Herckenrood) seems to have been situate near the village of Hercken, in the ancient county of Loos, which in the seventeenth century became annexed to Liége. See 'Chronologie Historique des Comtes de Loos,' L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, tom. iv. 254. Liége was annexed to France by the treaty of Luneville in 1801, after which the abbey was probably dissolved. At the general peace the district became part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and since the revolution in 1830 it has formed part of Belgium.

The circumstances which made Lichfield Cathedral the depository of these fine glass-paintings are recorded in the following inscription in the east window of the south aisle of the choir:—

"Quæ in apside vicina insunt, septem fenestræ picturatæ, cœnobio canonicorum Herckenrodensi quod olim exornaverant fœdissimè direpto atque diruto, novam, et, deo volente, stabiliorem sedem hâc ecclesiâ nactæ sunt; ope et consilio viri in omni judicio elegantissimi, Dom. Brooke Boothby, de Ashburn aulâ in comitatu Derb. Baronetti: anno sacro MDCCCIII."

The following principal subjects are represented :—

The Resurrection, and, in the distance, Christ appearing to Peter (dated 1538); Christ before Pilate (dated 1539); the Descent from the Cross, and, in the distance, the three Marys anointing the Body; Christ bearing the Cross; the Incredulity of St. Thomas; the Day of Pentecost (dated 1534); the Day of Judgment; the Betrayal; the Triumphal Entry (dated 1538); the Last Supper, and, in the distance, Christ washing the Disciples' feet; the Lord's Supper, and, in the distance, three small figures (dated 1537); the Ascension; the Annunciation, and, in the distance, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth (dated 1539); Christ crowned with Thorns, and, in the distance, Christ buffeted by the Soldiers; and the Flagellation.

The first four are in a window on the south side of the choir; the three following are in the next window; the next three in the southern apsidal window; the next two in the east window; and the next three in the northern apsidal window.

There are, besides, in the next window to the last, six smaller subjects representing benefactors to the abbey (parts of larger subjects); and in the next four other subjects similar to the last, but of larger size. The portrait in this window of the Cardinal de la Marck, Prince Bishop of Liége 1505-1538, much as it has suffered from time, shows to what extent direct imitation may be carried in glass-painting. The tracery lights of all these windows are filled with fragments of painted glass of the same period as the subjects, disposed in a kind of mosaic pattern. Much ingenuity has been exerted in fitting the glass-paintings to the widths of the present windows, and the mullions to the divisions of the glass. Each composition was originally designed to fill a space divided as now, by mullions, into three parts, for the areas occupied by the stone-work are excluded from the designs, over which the mullions seem to pass, in the same manner as the horizontal saddle-bars. It may shock a modern architectural purist to find the mullions treated, according to their primary use, as mere uprights to support horizontal iron bars; but as they interfere with the glass composition scarcely more than upright iron bars would, the practice (which by the way dates from very early times) may be justified as a means of combining grandeur and breadth of effect in the glass-painting with the construction of a Gothic building.

B.—This process is technically called the "mosaic method," in order to distinguish it from two other methods of painting glass, the "enamel" and the "mosaic enamel." A full description of each is given in 'An Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in Ancient Glass-Paintings, especially in England; with Hints on Glass-Painting. By an Amateur. Parker, 1848.'

[A description of these methods, given in the note, is here omitted, as they have already been described in the present volume. In the course of the note the author, after observing that there are satisfactory reasons for considering the mosaic method to be the true method of glass-painting, adds, "I am not aware of any modern improvement upon it except the occasional use, by the Munich glass-painters, of an enamel of a different colour from brown for shading purposes."]

C.—No one holds the earlier glass in greater respect than myself: without it we should not have had the cinquecento, which is the development of the older experience. But nothing can be less scientific or more ridiculous than the indiscriminate reproduction in modern works of the imperfections of the old.

D.—The contracts for the King's College Chapel windows, published in

Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting,' are dated 1526. It is my belief that the date of the window at St. Margaret's, Westminster, is about 1526. Mr. Scharf, in his excellent notes on the windows of King's College Chapel (see this Journal, vol. xii. p. 356, also vol. xiii. p. 45), which abound in valuable notices of Flemish glass-painters, attributes the Lichfield windows, on the authority of Mrs. Jameson, to Lambert Lombard of Liége, the master of Franz Floris, commonly called the Flemish Raphael.

E.—An instance of this, which occurs in the east window of King's College Chapel, is thus noticed by Mr. Scharf, in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 55:—"One singular expedient (of preserving the balance of colour) is worth mentioning. In the lower right-hand subject a mass of red was required against the extensive blue and green of the landscape. To afford this, a large patch of the landscape itself was coloured bright red. At a distance it looks like a banner floating; but on closer inspection rocks and grass on it are distinctly visible."

F.—This results from the very nature of a transparent picture. The shadow painted upon glass is only a partial stopping out of the light, the rays of which are equally bright, however much diminished they may be in size by the smallness of the interstices in the coat of enamel through which they find their way. A similar appearance may be noticed in line-engravings, though not so easily, partly owing to their small size as compared with a glass-painting, but principally because the rays of light are there modified by being reflected from an opaque surface, instead of coming directly to the eye from the source of light, as in a glass-painting. In an oil-painting the rays, besides being reflected, usually pass through some medium which is not perfectly transparent.

G.—The dates of these windows, as appearing on the glass, and as given by Lévy ('Histoire de la Peinture sur Verre,' Bruxelles, 1860), vary from 1537 to 1547. The second window from the east, in the chapel, is proved by this author to have been designed (and he adds, executed) by Bernard van Orley, whom he conjectures, and with reason, to have designed the two transept windows. The fourth window from the east, in the chapel, appears, from the same authority, to have been designed by Michael van Coxie, and executed by Jean Haecht of Antwerp. Van Coxie is also stated to have designed another, and Haecht (or, as it is sometimes spelt, Ack) to have executed two others of the chapel windows.

These works are remarkable for a simplicity of design, with a vigour and breadth of treatment, worthy of authors who were disciples of Raphael. Intended for distant effect, they are, perhaps, less delicate and refined than the Lichfield windows, though entirely free from any imputation of coarseness. The groups are less crowded, and the figures, instead of being much under life-size, exceed it by several inches. The pictures resemble those at Lichfield in the use made of architectural accessories as an additional means of simple but powerful effects of light and shade, and also in the principle of their colouring, which is in entire harmony with the chiaroscuro of the composition, instead of being uncomformable with, or even opposed to it, as in earlier examples. The architectural frame which supports the groups and regulates the extent of the background is simple and grand in design. In the transept windows it is in the form of a pavilion, having an arched roof on piers, within which is the group consisting of the kneeling figures of the donors supported by their patron saints. In the chapel windows similar pavilions are used alternately with loggias, or double colonnades. All these are of two stories; the upper is occupied with the figures representing an incident of the legend, the lower with

the effigies of the donors and their patron saints. The perspective is modified so as to avoid the occurrence of unpleasing angles in the upper parts of the composition; and for the sake of picturesqueness the chief point of sight is a little removed from the middle to the side of the window. The figures are in strong but simple light and shade; the soffits of the arches and roofs, and the further row of piers and columns, are in deep shade. A landscape is properly dispensed with, since its appearance would be inconsistent with such an elevated position above the eye as is by the perspective shown to be occupied by the group, and the architecture and figures are represented as if they were seen in relief against a clear blue sky. The extensive mass of white which the architecture presents (tinted, however, with the shading and drawing upon it and enriched with the yellow stain) imparts, as at Lichfield, great value to the other colours. Garlands and other ornaments are used, the colours of which, when occurring in large quantities, are qualified and harmoniously graduated; positive colours and strong contrasts being usually confined to the smaller accessories. The group is coloured generally on the same principle which prevails at Lichfield; the more powerful and positive tints predominate, and are arranged so as to lead up to some striking point or spot of colour. In one of the windows, the first from the east in the chapel, the subordinate figures are rendered less conspicuous by the introduction of much white in the draperies. The sky was originally many degrees paler and less positive than the blue used in other parts of the picture, being rather warm grey than blue. That it was intended, as at Lichfield, to relieve the more positively and deeply coloured, and comparatively more solid, figures and architecture, is shown by the placing of blue draperies immediately against it. In consequence, however, of a most unfortunate and injurious "restoration" which within the last fourteen years has befallen these windows (in course of which a large proportion of the original glazing has either been altogether removed, on the pretext of being disfigured with cracks, and supplied by modern glass, or toned down with an enamel colour), the skies, for the most part, have been obscured, their colour also deepened and rendered more positive, to the manifest deterioration of the relief of the pictures. The upper subject, indeed, of one of the chapel windows appears almost as if it had been painted on a blue ground. Ignorance of the extent of the restoration has probably betrayed some writers into the assertion that these windows are in character flat, like the mediæval. Before their restoration they were no flatter than those at Lichfield, and it is a proof of the intrinsic excellence of their design that, notwithstanding the injury they have sustained, they still occupy the first rank amongst glass-paintings of the more powerful and effective class. The most striking is, perhaps, the second of the chapel windows from the east, the design of Bernard van Orley, principally on account of the varied and vigorous action of the groups. At a distance, however, it is less broad in effect than the fourth window from the east.

II.—We hope that the projected annual exhibitions of "stained glass" at South Kensington may in course of time exercise a beneficial influence on the practice of glass-painting in this country. The present exhibition shows the deficiencies of our native artists, and how much they have to learn before they can compete successfully with foreign schools. Whether a demand for painted windows of a high class will ever be created sufficient to induce our best artists to direct their attention to the subject, may be doubted. The praiseworthy efforts made at Glasgow and at St. Paul's Cathedral are, it is to be feared,

efforts which for the present must necessarily be responded to by foreign artists who have devoted their attention to the finest examples of glass-painting. It cannot be supposed that a committee of management appointed by any body of subscribers will ever entertain the notion of educating a school of glass-painters. Their duty is simply to seek out and employ those whose works offer the best guarantee of ability to execute fresh commissions. Nor are they likely, if they have the interests of their constituents at heart, to submit to the guidance of any artist, however distinguished, who is wholly inexperienced in respect of glass-painting. The most important recent work, designed by a late eminent Royal Academician, demonstrates that glass-painting has conditions affecting the very nature of the composition, which must be thoroughly comprehended before a satisfactory result can be attained.

Whilst the foregoing pages were in the press, and had received the author's revision, the painful intelligence of his sudden decease has reached us. This sad event, full of anguish to those who best knew the excellent and amiable qualities of our lamented friend, claims our most hearty condolence. All who enjoyed his kindly intercourse, who were familiar with his generous disposition, his accomplished taste and attainments in a department of art which none had so successfully pursued as himself, will deeply deplore the loss of such a genial spirit. We must cherish the memory of the friend taken from us in the fresh energy of life, and of his wonted interest in our common pursuits—of one who ever was foremost in bygone years to impart the knowledge which he acquired, or to contribute to our gratification.

From Lincoln Cathedral.

XVI.

THE PAINTED GLASS IN THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL AT WARWICK.

(A Memoir read at the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Warwick, July 26, 1864.[1])

NOTWITHSTANDING the assistance afforded by Sir William Dugdale's account of the painted glass in the Beauchamp Chapel, its present shattered and dislocated state renders it a difficult task to re-arrange it, or to ascertain what parts occupy their original positions, or even to form a conjecture as to the nature of that which has been lost. Fortunately for our investigations, the glass hitherto has not been "restored," but only "repaired by some ignorant glazier," as the phrase is; but such a person I have ever found to be less mischievous than even the most accomplished restorer.

I will not make any long quotations from the documents of which Sir William Dugdale has furnished abstracts; but the following particulars will be found useful:—

It appears by the will of Richard Earl of Warwick, whose executors built the chapel, and who was Lord Despencer in right of his second wife,[2] that he bequeathed an image of gold to the shrine in the church of St. Alban, to the honour of God, our Lady, and St. Alban; another to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury; a third to the shrine at Bridlington, in Yorkshire; and a fourth to the shrine in the church of St. Wenefride, at Shrewsbury.

The contract for glazing the chapel windows was made in 1447 by the Earl's executors with John Prudde, of Westminster, glazier.[3]

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[1] In the absence of the lamented author, this memoir was read, at his request, by his friend, the Rev. John Louis Petit.

[2] [See Note A, at the end of this Memoir.]

[3] [See Note B, at the end of this Memoir.]

Sir William Dugdale adds that, after the windows were finished, the executors caused some alterations to be made, being some addition (not stated) for "Our Lady," and "scripture of the marriage of the Earl."

The east window of the chapel, as the most prominent and striking object, naturally arrests our attention; it will, however, assist our investigation of its contents, if we first take a brief survey of the side windows. For it will, I fear, be found, that the east window has undergone the fate of most east windows, in having been made the receptacle of fragments collected from other windows. Indeed I may state my belief, that of the glazing of the east window, which at first sight appears so perfect, little else remains in its original position than the glass in the tracery lights, the four upper figures in the side lights, and the small fragments in the cuspidated heads of the three central lights. In the accompanying diagram the original portions still *in situ* are indicated by shading diagonally from right to left, and a piece which I believe also to be original, though somewhat displaced, is indicated by dotting, the spaces filled by glass inserted being left white.

To begin with the side windows of the chapel: although the remnant of the ancient glazing of these windows is so scanty, there is enough to indicate the original composition.

The same general design pervades the three windows on the north side of the chapel, and the first window from the east on the south side.

The tracery lights of each window are filled with a choir of angels, and each of the lower lights was originally occupied by a single figure with a waving scroll above its head, which ascended into the cuspidated head of the light. Of these scrolls only the upper parts now remain; but by the inscriptions on them it sufficiently appears that the figures were mostly prophets or patriarchs. Figures with the lower parts of such scrolls waving above and about their heads are to be seen in the east window. These, it can be shown, have been removed from some of the side windows. Indeed it can, I think, be proved, that two of the figures in the east window have been removed from the first window from the east on the north side, by the agreement of the inscriptions on the lower parts of the scrolls with what remains on the upper parts still continuing in the side window.

The lower lights had no borders, but were filled with coloured grounds alternately red in one light and blue in the next. Each ground was ornamented with a foliaged pattern, and was divided

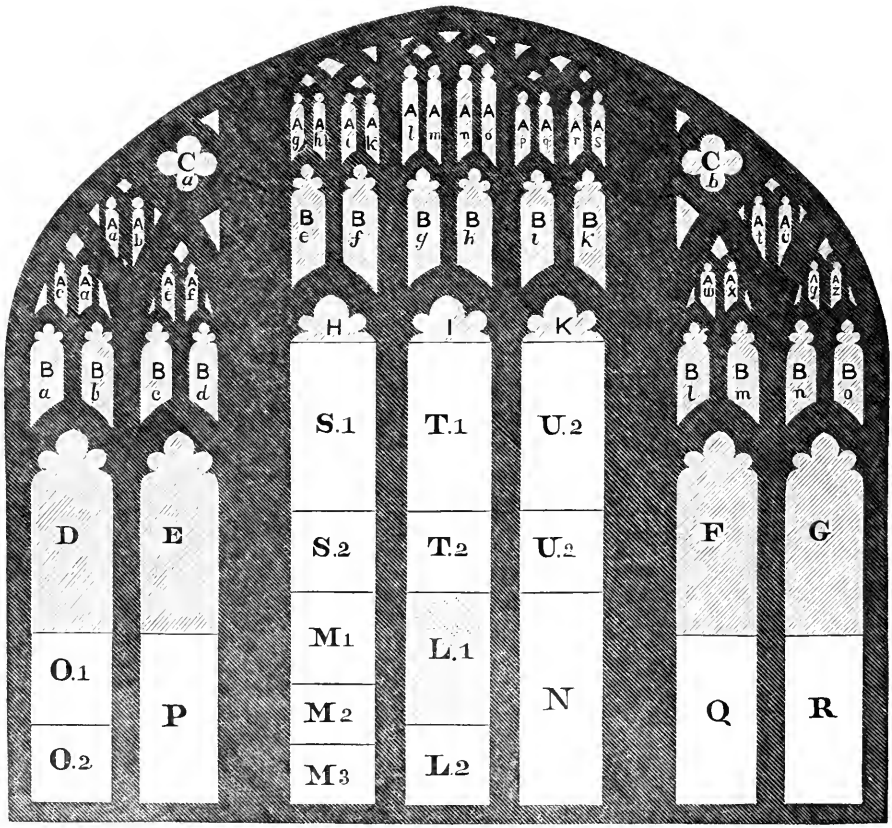


Diagram of the East Window of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

The glazed portions shaded with diagonal lines from right to left indicate the original glass remaining *in situ*; the portion dotted, marked L. 1, appears to be original glass misplaced.

by a narrow ornamented band—interlaced like a fret—into a series of small compartments; the red ground into lozenge-shaped compartments, the blue into square compartments, in which were placed alternately the founder's badges, viz., the white ragged staff, and the white bear with a yellow chain and muzzle. The figures and the scrolls were embedded in these grounds, and the figures were represented standing on brackets only, and not under canopies.

The remains of the coloured grounds are found in the side lights, and are all *in situ*. They afford a means of identifying figures in the east window (which retain their grounds, and sometimes their brackets also) with the lights in the side windows out of which they have been taken.

The angels in the tracery lights of the first window from the east, both on the north and south sides, are engaged with musical instruments. They are placed on a blue ground powdered with yellow flaming stars.

But the angels in the tracery heads of the two remaining windows on the north side, and, as it would seem from the appearance of the fragments, in the heads of the two opposite windows also, were furnished with scrolls inscribed with portions of the hymn supposed to be sung by the angels, and marked with appropriate notes of music adapted to some sort of instrument. These scrolls most resemble the leaves of a book, and they are arranged in such a manner as to present the inelegant appearance of a series of chevrons.

The scrolls are preserved only in the middle window on the north side: the inscriptions on them relate to a festival in honour of the Virgin; and the prophetic scrolls in the lower lights of the same window seem to have a general reference to the coming of Our Lord.

A somewhat different arrangement is adopted in the lower lights of the middle window on the south side. They appear to have been filled with a "multitude of the heavenly host:" in some of the lights yellow rays dart upwards. The glazing in the lower lights of the last window on the south side cannot be considered as original.

We will now return to the east window.

It will be the more regular course to commence with the tracery lights of this window. They are evidently designed with reference to some important sacred subject in the lower lights; though we find in some of them (as well as in the heraldic grounds of the lower lights of the side windows already noticed)

that strange admixture of objects of secular pomp and worldly vanity which usually characterizes the works that we are fond of attributing to "the piety of our ancestors" in the middle ages.

The upper row of tracery lights (marked A in the diagram) is principally devoted to a display of the founder's motto, in allusion to his marriage with a lady who eventually became heiress to the great Despencer family. The whole of this motto, "Louey Spencer, tant que vivray," is repeated in each pair of lights; one-half, "Louey Spencer" (*i. e.* praise Spencer), being written on a scroll in one light, and the remainder, "tant que vivray," on a scroll in the next. The lights otherwise have reference to the sacred nature of the general design. In the upper part of each light are represented clouds coloured in the lights alternately blue and red, and powdered with yellow flaming stars, from which clouds yellow rays descend, and are received on the red or blue foliaged ground, as the case may be, on which the scroll containing the motto is placed. Of the originality of this glass there can be no reasonable doubt.

The next row of tracery lights (marked B in the diagram) is entirely of religious design. In each is represented, on a blue foliaged ground powdered with yellow flaming stars, a red seraph standing on a yellow wheel, and holding a scroll of the same character as the angelic scrolls in the side windows, on which is set forth a portion of the "Gloria in excelsis," with musical notes. The hymn commences on the left hand or north side of the central part of the window, and continues across the six central tracery lights. It recommences on the left hand, or north side of the window, and continues across the four north tracery lights; it again recommences in the left-hand light of the south side of the window, and terminates with that series. The adaptation of the hymn to the number of lights, and the occurrence of the blue ground with flaming stars, afford a proof that the glass in this tier of lights is also original.

The glass in the two quatrefoils (marked C in the diagram) may also be considered as original. Each quatrefoil was originally occupied by a cherub, coloured yellow, on a blue foliaged ground. Of the remaining tracery lights the larger ones are filled with the blue ground and yellow flaming stars, and the smaller ones, mere holes, with plain pieces of red or blue glass. There is no reason for questioning their originality.

We can have no difficulty in concluding that the four figures in the upper part of the lower lights on the sides of the window (which are marked D, E, F, G, in the diagram) are also original

and *in situ;* for it abundantly appears that these figures represent the four saints in whose honour the Earl bequeathed the golden images mentioned in his will.

The first in order on the north side of the window (marked D in the diagram) is that of an archbishop, as indicated by his cross-staff. The inscription formerly on the bracket supporting the figure (the figures never had any canopies) is now lost; but Sir William Dugdale, in his notice of the east window, states that there were in his time, "besides those costly portraitures in glass of Earl Richard, with his wives and children" (of which we shall hear more presently), "the pictures, in their full proportion, of St. Alban, the protomartyr of England; St. Thomas of Canterbury; St. John of Bridlington; and of St. Wenefride." The figure in question may, therefore, be considered to represent St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The second figure from the north (marked E in the diagram), representing a king in royal apparel, armed in plate, having a blue surcoat with a yellow saltire, and bearing in his hand a cross, is at once identified with Dugdale's description by "Sēs Alb . . . ." (Sanctus Albanus), the remains of the words inscribed on the bracket supporting the figure.

The third figure from the north (in the south wing of the window, and marked F in the diagram) is that of a female saint, in a slate-coloured purple mantle (black is hereby indicated, but Prudde was mindful of his covenant not to use black glass if he could avoid it) having a jewelled border, and in a similarly-coloured under-dress, and bearing a pastoral staff. This is also identified with Dugdale's description by the word ". . . . Wenefrede" remaining on the bracket which supports the figure.

The fourth figure (marked G in the diagram) we may reasonably conclude represents St. John of Bridlington, though the name on the bracket has been lost. It is that of a male saint, bald-headed, in a slate-coloured purple cope and white surplice, and holding a pastoral staff. In scale and general character it entirely accords with the other three figures.

The figures of St. Thomas and St. John are on red grounds; those of St. Alban and St. Wenefride are on blue; each ground being divided into compartments and ornamented with the founder's badges, the bear and the ragged staff, like the grounds in the side windows. The order of the arrangement of the colours of these grounds—red, blue, blue, red—is a strong proof not only that the figures are *in situ*, but also of the originality of the glass which occupies the cuspidated heads of the three central

lower lights. For it will be found, that of these three lights the two outer ones had red grounds, and the inner or central light an exterior blue ground—an arrangement which would produce an alternation of red and blue grounds across the lower lights of the window thus:—

| Red | Blue ‖ Red | Blue | Red ‖ Blue | Red |

The glass in the cuspidated heads of the three central lower lights would appear to have belonged to some large subject. It seems to have immediate reference to some design which consisted of three glorified figures, the centre one of which was either larger than the others or was raised above them. For the glass in the centre light (marked I in the diagram) represents the upper part of a nimbus (not cruciferous, as far as I could ascertain), from which yellow rays proceed, and extend over a red ground next the nimbus and over a blue ground beyond; which blue ground occupies the remainder of the space as far as the stonework will allow. This blue ground is painted to represent clouds, and is powdered with yellow flaming stars.

The glass in the two outer central lights (marked H and K in the diagram) represents only yellow rays traversing a red ground, and these rays, it is evident from their less divergence as compared with those in the centre light, proceeded from some point lower down in each light than the nimbus in the middle light.

We probably should conjecture rightly if we supposed that the subject of which these fragments formed part consisted of some prominent piece of Marian symbolism. The chapel is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and she was one of the holy persons intended to be honoured by the Earl's bequest of a golden image to the shrine of St. Alban. But, in order to ascertain whether any other portions of the glass now in the window belonged to such a subject, a consideration of the space which it may be supposed to have occupied becomes necessary; and in this we must particularly attend to what Sir William Dugdale says as to the state of the window in his time.

In his 'Antiquities of Warwickshire' there is an engraving of eight kneeling figures, the portraits, as appears from the inscriptions which accompany them, of Earl Richard, the founder; of his first Countess, Elizabeth, and her three daughters, Margaret, Eleanor, and Elizabeth; and of his second Countess, Isabella, and her two children, Henry, first Duke of Warwick, and the Lady Anne. Among these inscriptions we may recognise the "scripture of the marriage of the Earl," added by the Earl's executors after the completion of the windows.

These portraits are arranged on the page in three rows—the upper one consisting of the effigy of the Earl between those of his two wives. But this arrangement, though the most convenient for the engraver, we may be certain was not the arrangement of the figures in the window. All analogy points to the conclusion that these portraits were placed in the window in a single row—a supposition which, indeed, is strengthened by the attitudes of the figures in the engraving. The Earl, who is represented in profile, looks towards the spectator's left, which, if the figure were in the window, would in reality be facing the north. His first Countess and her three daughters look in the same direction as the Earl; whilst the second Countess faces the Earl, and consequently would look towards the south, to which point also her son and daughter turn. So that, if the figures are supposed to be in the window, and there placed in a single row, the Earl, his first Countess, and her three daughters would look towards the north, and face his second Countess, her son and daughter, who would look towards the south.

The difficulty is to determine whether these figures were arranged in a row which continued uninterruptedly across the whole window, or which was divided into two portions and confined to the outer lights, under the figures of St. Thomas, St. Alban, St. Wenefride, and St. John.

Of course, if our opinion should be in favour of the continuity of the row, the space to be allotted to the central subject will, as a necessary result, be greatly diminished.

If we could, with absolute certainty, identify the figure in the lower part of the middle light of the window (marked L 1 in the diagram) with the effigy of the founder delineated in the engraving given by Dugdale, its size, coupled with the appearance of the engraved figures, might solve the question. For the figure in the window, with its tent-like canopy of state of which the remains exist, is on a scale sufficient to occupy the entire breadth of the light. Such dimensions must have given rise to great crowding of the figures, if we suppose that they were all upon the same scale and were confined to the four lights in the wings of the window. That they were of the same size, appears from the engraving which is given by Dugdale; and all analogy would confirm that supposition, for the son and daughters were grown persons when the glass was put up. And that the figures were not so greatly crowded together as must have been the case had they been confined to four lights, also appears from the

engraving, where each figure is represented separately, and with the whole of its heraldry shown; which the engraver could hardly have supplied had they very much overlapped each other. I say, had they very much overlapped each other, because, even according to the theory of a continuous row, two of the Earl's daughters by his first wife must have occupied one light; but, according to the contrary theory, five figures on one side of the window at least must have been crowded into two lights. I think that it is more probable that the figures were disposed in a continuous row which extended across the entire window, and that the founder was placed in the middle light, his Countesses in the lights on each side, his three daughters by his first wife in the two south outer lights, and his son and daughter by his second wife in the corresponding lights on the north side. It is probable that the canopies of state in the three middle lights were a little taller than those in the outer lights; and if the theory of a continuous row of figures is correct, we may reasonably conclude that the effigies occupied in the centre lights the spaces marked in the diagram L 1 and 2, M 1, 2, and 3, and N; and in the side lights the spaces marked O 1 and 2, P, Q, and R, immediately under the figures of St. Thomas, St. Alban, St. Wenefride, and St. John; which would leave, as the space available for the principal subject, that marked in the diagram S 1 and 2, T 1 and 2, and U 1 and 2.

The difficulty felt in identifying the existing figure in the middle light with the engraving of the founder's effigy arises from a discrepancy in the heraldry on the dresses of the two figures. The arms represented on this figure in the engraving given by Dugdale are the quartered coat of Beauchamp and Newburgh. Those on the figure in the window consist of the same coat with an inescutcheon of pretence of Despencer. The latter arms would no doubt be the Earl's proper coat after his second wife became heiress of the Despencer family; and I can account for the discrepancy only by supposing, either that the figure in the window belongs to another series of effigies in the chapel, which is improbable both from Sir William Dugdale's silence and the absence of any allusion to the founder in the tracery of the side windows, or else that the engraver by accident omitted the Despencer inescutcheon. Sir William Dugdale has left no description of the arms in addition to the engravings; and there is this circumstance which seems to impugn the engraver's accuracy, that in the plate the Despencer inescutcheon

(omitted in the Earl's arms) is made to appear in the arms of the Lady Eleanor, the second daughter of the Earl's first wife, who was heiress of Lord Berkeley, as well as (properly) in the arms of the Lady Anne, daughter of the Earl's second wife, who was ultimately heiress of the Despencer family. The figure, which is much mutilated, is turned, like that in the engraving, towards the north, and has evidently been placed under a canopy of state. The head of the figure is lost, and has been replaced by that of a lady, perhaps one of the female effigies. The canopy has lost its upper part, and the whole subject has been thrust upwards above its proper position in the window.

With the exception of two subjects which I shall presently notice, I think that we shall have no difficulty in concluding that of the remainder of the glass in the window none formed part of the original design; and that, with regard to these two subjects, strong grounds may be adduced for the belief that they have been removed from some other windows in this chapel.

To commence with the three lower centre lights of the window: the subject in the north light (marked s 1 in the diagram) is the upper part of the figure of St. Elizabeth. On the portion of the scroll which remains above the head of the figure is part of the forty-third verse of the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel; and the residue of the scroll with the remainder of the verse is, I think, in the cuspidated head of the next light but one to the east of the first window from the east on the north side of the chapel. This glass is an insertion. What at first appears to be the lower part of the saint (marked s 2 in the diagram) is, in fact, the lower part and feet of another figure on a larger scale than was that of St. Elizabeth, and probably the remains of the figure of a prophet or patriarch. Another ground for concluding that the glass in question is an insertion consists in the fact, that the nimbus is plain and not radiated, and that the red background to the figure, instead of being plain red, like that in the cuspidated head of the light, is reticulated and ornamented with the bear and the ragged staff.

The subject in the south light (marked u 1 in the diagram) is the upper part of the figure of the Blessed Virgin. On the portion of the scroll which remains above the head of the figure is part of the forty-eighth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke; and the residue of the scroll with the remainder of the verse is, I think, in the cuspidated head of the light nearest the east of the same window on the north side of the chapel to which the figure

of St. Elizabeth belonged, and from which this figure also must have been taken. Another ground for concluding that it is an insertion in the east window consists in the fact, that its background is not red, like the ground in the cuspidated head of the light above, but blue; and moreover it is reticulated and ornamented with the founder's badges: both which features would be correct if this figure stood, as I have supposed, next to that of St. Margaret in the window on the north side of the chapel. What appears to be the lower part and feet of this figure (and occupies the space marked U 2 in the diagram) really belongs to a different figure; which last, from the inscription on a scroll at the bottom of the bracket beneath, appears to be that of the prophet Amos.

The subject in the middle light (marked T 1 in the diagram) is the upper part of the figure of a prophet or patriarch. The figure holds a small scroll rolled up, to which allusion is made in the inscription ". . . . non aperietur" on the scroll which waves above the head of the figure. It is clearly an insertion: the ground is blue ornamented with the founder's badges. The lower part or feet (marked T 2) in the diagram belong to another figure, which appears from the inscription of the bracket to have been that of the prophet Isaiah.

The two subjects concerning which I think the greatest difficulties must be felt to exist are the following. It will be most convenient to commence with that in the lower part of the southern central light (which is marked N in the diagram).

The subject here represented is the Blessed Virgin. She is kneeling, and turned towards the north side of the window. The hands are crossed upon her breast; the eyes and countenance are downcast. Above the head of the figure is a red cloud, from which yellow rays diverge, spreading themselves over a blue ground powdered with yellow flaming stars, down to the shoulders of the figure. It is habited in a mantle and close-fitting under-garment, the upper part or body of which is richly jewelled, and the lower part or skirt is purple, powdered with small roundels, each representing yellow rays issuing from a blue cloud. The nimbus is red. This figure, which is of a larger size than any of the four original figures in the window, but is on the same scale as the figures of some prophets or patriarchs in the lower part of the window, which clearly have belonged to some of the side windows, may, from its appearance, have formed part of the subject of the Annunciation, or of the Coronation of

the Blessed Virgin. If the latter, we might be inclined to think that we had at last discovered some part of the subject which occupied the upper portion of the central lights.

But the space required for the representation of a Coronation of the Virgin, on such a scale as the size of the present figure would demand, would greatly exceed the limits necessarily prescribed by the adoption of the theory of a continuous row of effigies across the window. Though I fully admit the difficulties which surround the subject in whatever light it is regarded, I think that, upon the whole, it is less easy to conceive that this figure formed part of the missing central subject, than that it belonged to one of the side windows of the chapel.

In the most northern of the central lights (at the spot marked M 1 in the diagram) is a head of Christ crowned with thorns and surrounded with a cruciferous nimbus. The countenance, which is turned towards the south, looks downwards. The scale of this head is the same as that of the last-mentioned figure. Whether this head was originally on a blue background traversed with yellow diverging rays, I am unable to say; but, on a close inspection, it appears that the blue ground we now see is made up of fragments of glass once used for draperies, and that the greater part, at all events, of the existing yellow rays has been cut from fragments of yellow glass originally used for other purposes. This modern work may have been done in repairing an original design, and it may have been devised with the intention of producing an effect in conformity with that of the radiated ground above the figure of the Virgin in the opposite light.

The remains of a figure, which are just beneath this head (and occupy the space marked M 2 in the diagram), appear not to have belonged to the head in question. About the shoulders there is a portion of background, red, diapered, and powdered with yellow flaming stars. The background to the remaining portion of the figure is blue, divided into small squares, and ornamented with the founder's badges. The rest of the light (marked M 3 in the diagram) is filled with remains of a third figure.

My impression is that the head of Christ belonged to one of the side windows, as well as the rest of the glass, with the exception perhaps of the fragment of the red background, which is powdered with yellow stars. This, indeed, may have belonged to the upper part of the middle light.

There seems to be no difficulty in supposing that the remainder of the glass does not belong to the east window.

The space below the kneeling figure of the Earl (marked L 2 in the diagram) is filled with fragments, amongst which is a portion of foliage with red fruit intermixed, which may have belonged to a painting of the Temptation of our first parents—if there were such a subject—in any one of the side windows.

To proceed to the glass in the lower parts of the outer lights: that immediately below the figure of St. Thomas (in the space marked O 1 in the diagram) consists of the upper portion of the figure of a patriarch or prophet. This figure is on the same scale as that of the Virgin and the head of Christ in the spaces marked N and M 1 in the diagram. It is evidently too large for the place it occupies, for, if complete, it would extend about one-fourth of its length below the sill of the window. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that this glass belonged to one of the side windows. Above the head of the figure is a wavy scroll, in this instance complete, but without any inscription. The background is red divided into lozenges, and ornamented with the founder's badges. What appears to be the lower part of the figure (and occupies the space marked O 2 in the diagram) is, in fact, a portion of another.

The subject which occupies the next light (in the space marked P in the diagram) is the upper portion of a prophet, as appears from the part of the scroll that remains above its head, and the inscription upon it. It is evident that this figure is not *in situ*, it being too large for the place. If completed by the addition of its lower part and feet, the figure would reach below the sill of the window to a distance equal to one-fourth the height of the figure. It is upon a blue ground divided into squares, and ornamented with the founder's badges. Without doubt it belonged to one of the side windows.

On the south side of the window the lower part of the light (marked Q in the diagram) is filled with fragments, consisting principally of the remains of two figures, each on such a scale as would render them, if completed, about one-fourth too long for the light. We may therefore conclude that they belonged to one of the side windows. The ground is red divided into squares, and ornamented with the founder's badges.

The remaining part of the window (marked R in the diagram) is occupied with a portion of the figure of a prophet or patriarch, which, if completed by the addition of its lower part and feet,

would, like the others, be too tall for the light. It may therefore be considered to have been removed from one of the side windows. The background is red divided into lozenges, and ornamented with the founder's badges.

Such is the best account that I have been able to furnish of these most interesting windows. It is unavoidably dry and technical, and possibly some of the positions which I have advanced will not meet with ready acceptance. I shall, however, be sufficiently repaid for the pains I have taken if my survey of the glass should in any degree facilitate the labours of others.

In conclusion I will add a few observations on the general character of the glazing.

In the contract with the Earl's executors, John Prudde, the glazier, amongst other things, undertook to employ no English glass, but to glaze all the windows with the best foreign glass that was procurable in England; to use the best colours, and as little white, green, and black glass as possible. Designs on paper were to be delivered to him by the executors, which were to be fresh traced and pictured in rich colours by another painter at Prudde's expense, from which the glass-paintings were to be executed. The whole cost of painting and fixing was to be at the rate of 2*s.* per superficial foot, which would be equal to about 1*l.* 4*s.* present money.

I imagine that the use of foreign glass at this period was not unfrequent. For I cannot perceive that the material used in these windows differs in texture or tone from much other glazing of the same date with which I am familiar. The small effect that the weather has had on it proves it to be a very hard kind of glass; but glass of an equally hard nature and of the same date may be seen elsewhere. Nor is there anything remarkable in the quality of the colours. Prudde, indeed, seems to have been a man of sounder taste than his employers; for, notwithstanding their objection to the use of white and of green glass, he seems to have used each colour without stint. In point of general execution his work is a very good average specimen of the period. It is brilliant, rich, harmonious, and solid, and as flat and confused as the contemporary glass-paintings and paintings in oil or water-colour always are. To have been otherwise at that time would have been impossible; for the art of producing relief in any kind of painting was then unknown; its discovery was reserved for a later period. Once known, the practice was adopted with equal eagerness by the artists in glass-painting, and

by the artists who worked in oil or water-colour; and during the period when modern art touched perfection, the different means of representation were each faithfully worked out according to its own peculiar laws. In Prudde's work we recognise the influence which the general art of his period exercised on his own, just as we see in the next century the glass-paintings influenced by the progress of the Renaissance. It is surprising to me that persons should ever fall into the error of supposing that there is any necessary or scientific connection between glass-painting, which look as if they had been "ironed out flat," and Gothic architecture. Flatness was the fault of the art of representation in painting generally in Prudde's time. The flatness of his own work is evidently the result of his ignorance of a better method, and not of intention.

The members of the Institute will have an opportunity on their visit to Lichfield of comparing the effect of these glass-paintings with that of glass-paintings about one hundred years later. I shall not anticipate their judgment by any remarks. I will only recommend them to prepare themselves for the occasion by studying the example under consideration, and noting its defects as well as its merits. If the state of modern glass-painting in England is deplorable, as an examination of the specimens now exhibited at South Kensington abundantly proves it to be, we should remember that the fault lies rather with the patrons of the art than with its professors. A general truth is involved in the verse—

"The Drama's laws the Drama's patrons give."

*** The correction of this Memoir and its preparation for the press were among the last labours of the lamented author, of whom a sudden and unforeseen stroke has deprived us. Though a learned, careful, sound, and acute archæologist in many branches of the science, he was best known from his studies in the art of glass-painting, in regard to which his reputation was European. Of this art he not only investigated and illustrated the history and principles, but endeavoured, we may hope with some success, to restore it, not in a spirit of mere imitation, but as a living and progressive art, and to raise its standard to a level with those acknowledged by artists both in painting and in sculpture. Much remained for him to do had he been spared longer; but he has laid a foundation on which others may

securely build. With his refined taste and sound judgment was combined a technical knowledge, not merely of the treatment but of the actual manufacture of the material. His drawings of glass-paintings are unique. In character and expression, force, truth, purity, and brilliance of colour, as well as in the representation of the texture of the glass, they are unparalleled. They are, in fact, as perfect fac-similes of the originals as can be produced by water-colour upon paper.

J. L. P.

A.—Richard Earl of Warwick, who founded the Beauchamp chapel, in which he was interred, and died 30th April, 1439, was son and heir of Thomas Earl of Warwick, by Margaret daughter of William Lord Ferrers of Groby. He married, first, Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Berkeley, by whom he left three daughters: Margaret, who was the wife of the famous John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; Eleanor, who married first Thomas Lord Roos, and secondly Edmund Beaufort Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Somerset; and Elizabeth, who married George Nevil Lord Latimer. This Earl married, secondly, Isabel daughter of Thomas le Despencer Earl of Gloucester, who, by the death of her brother Richard and her elder sister Elizabeth without issue, became sole heir to her father. This Isabel was the widow of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Worcester, the cousin of the Earl, who had a special dispensation from the Pope to marry her. By her he left issue Henry his son and heir, afterwards Duke of Warwick, and one daughter, Anne, who became the wife of Sir Richard Nevil.

B.—An abstract of the covenants between the executors of the Earl and the several artists employed in the erection and decoration of the chapel and tomb is given by Dugdale, 'Antiquities of Warwickshire,' edit. 1656, of which the following is an extract, so far as relates to the glass:—"John Prudde, of Westminster, glasier, 23 Junii, 25 H. 6, covenanteth, &c., to glase all the windows in the new Chappell in Warwick with Glasse beyond the Seas, and with no Glasse of England; and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest Glasse of beyond the Sea that may be had in England, and of the finest colours of blew, yellow, red, purpure, sanguine, and violet, and of all other colours that shall be most necessary and best to make rich and embellish the matters, Images, and stories that shall be delivered and appointed by the said Executors by patterns in paper, afterwards to be newly traced and pictured by another Painter in rich colour at the charges of the said Glasier: All which proportions the said John Prudde must make perfectly to fine, glase, eneylin it, and finely and strongly set it in lead and souder, as well as any Glasse as in England. Of white Glasse, green Glasse, black Glasse, he shall put in as little as shall be needfull for the shewing and setting forth of the matters, Images, and storyes. And the said Glasier shall take charge of the same Glasse, wrought and to be brought to Warwick, and set up there, in the windows of the said Chapell; the Executors paying to the said Glasier for every foot of Glasse ii.*s.*, and so for the whole xci.*li.* i.*s.* x.*d.*

"It appeareth that, after these windows were so finished, the executors devised some alterations, as to adde . . . . . for our Lady, and scripture of

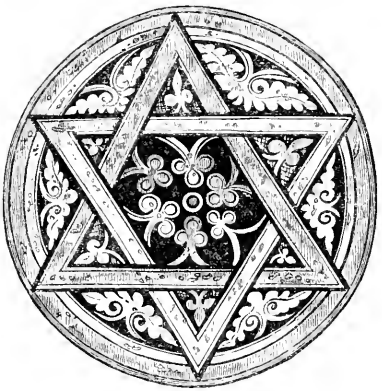
the marriage of the Earle, and procured the same to be set forth in Glasse in most fine and curious colours; and for the same they payd the sum of xiii.*li.* vi.*s.* iv.*d.* Also it appeareth that they caused the windows in the vestry to be curiously glased with Glasse of ii.*s.* a foot, for which they payd L.*s.* The sum totall for the Glass of the said Vestry and Chappell, xvi.*li.* xviii.*s.* vi.*d.*, which in all contain by measure:

"The East window, cxlix. foot, i. quarter, and two inches.

"The South windows cccccIx. foot, xi. inches.

"The North windows cccv. foot.

"The totall DCCCCX. foot, iii. quarters of a foot, and two inches."



From St. Mary's Redcliffe, Bristol.

A CATALOGUE

OF

DRAWINGS OF GLASS-PAINTINGS.

BY THE LATE

CHARLES WINSTON.[1]

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
1	Arms, Archbishop Warham, impaled with those of the See.[2]	Lambeth Palace	1510
2	Arms, King Henry VII. ..	Ditto	1495
3	Arms, Merchant Venturers ..	Franks House, Horton Kirby, Kent	1594
4	Arms, Bathurst impaling Randolph.	Ditto	1594
5	Crest, Bathurst	Farningham Church, Kent	1594
6	Archbishop, supposed to be Archbishop Simon de Meopham.	Meopham Church, Kent	1460
7	Royal badges	North Cray Church, Kent	1490
8	Fragments	North Cray Church, Kent, and Shoreham Church, Sussex.	1400
9	Arms of the Bowes family ..	North Cray Church, Kent	1548
10	Arms of the Butler family ..	Lullingstone Church, Kent	1490
11	Archbishop with the pall ..	Ditto	1290
12	Archbishop	Ditto	1290
13	Crown	North Cray Church, Kent	1490
14	Birds	Ditto	1490
15	Agnus Dei (redrawn, No. 409)	Newick Church, Sussex	1230
16	Arms, Prince Arthur	North Cray Church, Kent	1530
17	Arms of the Busket family, quartered with Fitzjames.	Fulham Palace	1508
18	Badge, Dawbeny	Ditto	1510
19	Arms, Bishop Fitzjames, impaled by Newborough of Lulworth, Dorset.	Ditto	1508

[1] The drawings were exhibited by the Archæological Institute, at the rooms of the Arundel Society in Old Bond Street, from March 24th to April 5th, 1865. They are at present temporarily deposited at the South Kensington Museum for public exhibition.

The present catalogue is taken from a copy of a MS. catalogue in Mr. Winston's handwriting, but with some additions, giving fuller descriptions of the drawings, from the printed catalogue used at the exhibition in Old Bond Street. The dates are by Mr. Winston; latterly he ceased to assign any.

[2] These arms were not originally at Lambeth, but most probably at the Archbishop's palace at Otford, near Sevenoaks, the ruins of which still remain. The Rev. Benjamin Winston purchased the glass at Sevenoaks about the year 1830, and, on the restoration of Lambeth Palace by Archbishop Howley, made a present of it to him. The Archbishop then requested him, if he met with any more such glass, to purchase it for him. Mr. Winston accordingly purchased for him, also at Sevenoaks, the arms of Henry VII., the subject of the next drawing. Mr. Charles Winston's drawing of Warham's arms bears date December, 1830.

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
20	Arms, King Henry VIII. ..	Fulham Palace	1510
21	Arms, { Cardinal Kemp .. / Bishop Savage .. }	Ditto	{ 1493 / 1498
22	Arms, { Bishop Savage .. / Bishop Fitzjames .. }	Ditto	{ 1498 / 1508
23	Bird	Eynesford, Kent	1490
24	Arms of the Bathurst family	Farningham Church, Kent	1594
25	Virgin and Child	Kingsdown Church, Kent	1340
26	Fish	Ditto	1340
27	Border of fish	Ditto	1340
28	Emblem of the Holy Trinity	Wanlip Church, Leicestershire ..	1393
29	Arms, Duke of Lancaster ..	Ditto	1393
30	Arms, Duke of York	Ditto	1393
31	Arms, Duke of Gloucester ..	Ditto	1393
32	Lion's head	Rothley Church, Leicestershire ..	1315
33	Arms	Ditto	1330
34	1 and 2, Resurrection of Christ	Ditto	1315
35	Arms of England	Stanford Church, Northamptonshire.	1335
36	Arms of France	Ditto	1335
37	Canopy	Ditto	1335
38	Emblem of Holy Trinity ..	Ditto	1335
39	Bishop	Ditto	1335
40	St. Peter	Ditto	1335
41	Circular ornament	Ditto	1335
42	Ornament	Ditto	1335
43	Ornament	Ditto	1335
44	Emblem of St. John the Evangelist.	Ditto	1335
45	I. H. S.	Ditto	1500
46	Ornament	Fawkham Church, Kent	1325
47	St. Anne	Ditto	1325
48	St. Anne	Stanford Church, Northamptonshire.	1335
49	Pattern	Ditto	1335
50	1 and 2, arms of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford.	Ditto	1335
51	Grotesque animal	Ditto	1335
52	Canopy	Ditto	1335
53	Bird	Ditto	1335
54	Bird	Ditto	1335
55	Circular ornament	Thaxted Church, Essex	1490
56	I. H. S.	Ditto	1490
57	Angel	Ditto	1490
58	Circular ornament	Ditto	1490
59	Christ enthroned	Kingsdown Church, Kent	1340
60	Circle	Southwell Minster, Notts	1230
61	Arms, Bishop Tunstall	Fulham Palace	1525
62	Emblem of St. Mark	Wrotham Church, Kent	1320
63	Arms, Queen Elizabeth ..	Franks House, Horton Kirby, Kent	1594
64	Arms of Mortimer Earl of March.	Ockwells House, Berks	1455
65	Arms of Sir John Pusy ..	Ditto	1455
66	Arms, Beauchamp Bishop of Salisbury.	Ditto	1455
67	Arms of the Browne family ..	Reynolds Place, Horton Kirby, Kent.	1514
68	Crest of the Browne family ..	Ditto	1514
69	Ornament	Halstead Church, Essex	1345
70	Patriarch	Great Dunmow Church, Essex ..	1460

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
71	Arms, Duresme of Essex ..	Great Dunmow Church, Essex ..	1300
72	Arms of the Bourchier family	Halstead Church, Essex	1320
73	A martyrdom	Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.	1220
74	The Ascension	Ditto	1220
75	Circle	Farningham Church, Kent	1490
76	Arms of the Poix family ..	T. P. Cox, Esq.	1530
77	Arms, Peche impaling Scrope and Tiptoft, quarterly.	Lullingstone Church, Kent	1520
78	Arms, "Brocklull."	Ditto	1340
79	Group of figures	Belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lea, probably from the Sainte Chapelle, Paris.	1216
80	Angel	Ditto	1200
81	Flight into Egypt	Ditto	1180
82	Borders and quarries	Mr. Ward, C. W.	1320
83	1 and 2, pattern	Chartham Church, Kent	1285
84	Grotesque animal	Ditto	1285
85	Christ	Mr. Ward	1460
86	Arms, Berkeley	Westonbirt Church, Gloucestershire.	1365
87	Ornament	Ditto	1365
88	Ornament	Ditto	1490
89	Ornament	Ditto	1490
90	Ornament	Ditto	1490
91	Two circles	Merton Chapel, Oxford	1283
92	Bishop, 1 and 2	German glass, belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lea.	1505
93	Ornament	Farningham Church, Kent	1440
94	Arms of the Sackville family	Shalford Church, Essex	1320
95	Arms of the Poinings family	Ditto	1320
96	York and Lancaster Rose ..	Mr. Ward	1490
97	Circular ornament	French glass, belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lea.	1180
98	Circle (small)	Netteswell Church, Essex	1350
99	Feather	Ditto	1450
100	Fragment	Ditto	1250
101	Arms, Earl of Lancaster and Earl of Richmond.	Chartham Church, Kent	1285
102	Lion's head	Merton Chapel, Oxford	1283
103	A martyr, St. Stephen	French glass, late Lord Herbert of Lea.	1200
104	Murder of the Innocents ..	Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.	1220
105	Circle	From Cologne	1290
106	Pattern	Ditto	
107	Pattern	Ditto	
108	1 and 2 pattern	Ditto	
109	Figure	German glass, late Lord Herbert of Lea.	1505
110	Fragments	Salisbury Cathedral	
111	Lion's head	Woodmansterne Church, Surrey ..	1450
112	I. N. R. I.	Ditto	1520
113	St. Peter	Ditto	1460
114	St. Paul	Ditto	1540
115	Fragments	Ditto	1460
116	An archbishop	Dorchester Church, Oxfordshire ..	1285
117	Arms	Ditto	1285
118	Consecration of a bishop ..	Ditto	1290
119	Fragments	Ditto	1285

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
120	Pattern and canopy	Southfleet Church, Kent	
121	Fragments	Ditto	
122	Fragments	Rothley Church, Leicestershire, and Mr. Ward.	
123	Fragment of border to arms ..	Mr. Miller	
124	Arms	Ditto	
125	Badge, Prince Edward	Horton Kirby, Kent	
126	Part of the Crucifixion	Mr. Ward	
127	Pattern	St. Martin's-le-Grand Church, York	
128	Figure of Christ, tracery light	Ditto	
129	Tracery light, pattern	Southfleet Church, Kent	
130	Tracery light, pattern	Ditto	
131	Head of tracery light	Ditto	
132	Tracery light, pattern	Ditto	
133	Tracery light, remains of canopy.	Ditto	
134	Quarry	Ditto	
135	Tracery light, pattern	Ditto	
136	Fragment of border	Ditto	
137 to 140	Badges	Mr. Hilliers, Boley Hill, Rochester, Kent.	
142	1 and 2, part of Tree of Jesse	Westwell Church, Kent	1250
143	Pattern	Ditto	1250
144	Quarry	Chartham Church, Kent	
145	Arms, England	Ditto	1306
146	Tracery light, angel	Ditto	
147	Ditto, Christ and emblems ..	Ditto	
148	Ditto, nondescript beast ..	Ditto	
149	Ditto, arms, Clare	Ditto	
150	Ditto, ornament	Ditto	
151 to 155	Ditto, ornament	Ditto	
156	Head of a tracery light	Ditto	
157	Head and one panel of tracery light.	Ditto	
158	Tracery light, pattern	Ditto	
159 to 161	Tracery light, pattern	Ditto	
162	Head of a tracery light, pattern.	Ditto	
163	Nondescript animal	Ditto	
164	Tracery light	Ditto	
165	Tracery light, figure	Snodland Church, Kent	
166	Lower light, figure, &c. ..	Ditto	
167	Lion's head and border ..	Ditto	
168	Quarries	Ditto	
169	Quarry	Ditto	
170	Head of lower light	Ditto	
171	Tracery light, lion's head ..	Ditto	
172	Ditto, work	Ditto	
173 174	Fragments	Ditto	
175	Quarry	Ditto	
176	Fragment of arms, England	Ditto	
177	Fragment of border	Ditto	
178	Fragment of border and quarry	Ditto	
179	Tracery light, pattern	Sutton-at-Hone Church, Kent ..	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
180	Two female heads	Thaxted Church, Essex	
181	Tracery light, pattern	Sible Hedingham Church, Essex	
182	Lower light and arms (France)	Selling Church, Kent	
183	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
184	Lower light, arms (Clare) ..	Ditto	
185	Head of lower light	Ditto	
186	Border	Ditto	
187	Figure	Ditto	
188	Tracery light	Ditto	
189	1 and 2, figure and canopy ..	French glass, belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lea.	
190	Quarries	C. W.	
191	Figures	French glass, belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lee.	
192	Marriage in Cana of Galilee	Ditto	
193	Consecration of a church ..	Ditto	
193*a*	Fragments	Ditto	
194	Head of Christ	Ditto	
195	Lower light, pattern	Merton College Chapel, Oxford ..	
196	Figure and canopy. On the scroll is written, "Magister Henricus de Mansfield me fecit."	Ditto	
196*a*	Female figure	German glass, belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lea.	
197	Heads	French glass, ditto	
198	Head of St. James	Stowting Church, Kent	
199	Tracery light, figure	Belonged to the late Lord Herbert of Lea.	
200	Circle, figures. On the scroll is written, "If ani man thirst, come to me and drinck."	Lullingstone Church, Kent	
201	Quarry (Peche)	Ditto	
202	Arms	Belonged to late Lord Herbert of Lea.	
203	Female head	Worfield Church, Salop	
204	Male head	Ditto	
205	Tracery lights		
206	Tracery light		
207	Tracery lights		
208	Fragments	Worfield Church, Salop	
209	Fragments and two tracery lights.		
210	Hosea	French glass, belonged to late Lord Herbert of Lea.	1250
211	Three quarries	Burleigh House and Mr. Ward ..	1500
212	Angel and harp	German glass, belonged to late Lord Herbert of Lea.	1510
213	St. James and canopy	Stanton Harcourt Church, Oxon ..	1290
214	Pattern		
215	A window head. On scroll "Ecce Agnus Dei."	Merton College Library, Oxford ..	
216	Borders	Ditto	
217	Quarries	Ditto	
218	Border, &c.	Kingsdown Church, Kent	
219	Pattern	Wichfont Church, Wilts	
220	Cherub	Ditto	
221	Pattern	Ditto	
222	Quarry	Westminster Abbey	
223	Border	Worfield Church, Salop	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
224	Inscription	Little Malvern Church, Worcestershire.	
225	Tracery light	Kingsdown Church, Kent	
226	Prince Arthur	Little Malvern Church, Worcestershire.	
227	The Princess Elizabeth of York, afterwards Queen of Henry VII., and her sisters.	Ditto	
228	Tracery light	Dennington Church, Suffolk	
229	Arms of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain.	Wilton House, Wilts	1554
230	Crown	Unknown	1550
231	Figure of a saint	Selling Church, Kent.	
232	Arms of England	Ditto	
233	Virgin and Child	Ditto	
234	Part of canopy	Stowting Church, Kent	
235	Ditto and part of figure	Ditto	
236	Ditto and part of figure	Ditto	
237	Kneeling figures	Ditto	
238	Kneeling figures	Ditto	
239	Head of a window canopy	Mells Church, Somersetshire	
240	SS. Catherine and Margaret	Ditto	
241	Rose, tracery light	Ditto	
242	Rose, tracery light	Ditto	
243	St. Magdalene	Ditto	
244	St. Sitha	Ditto	
246	Arms of Margaret Countess of Buren, A.D. 1534–1539.	Lichfield Cathedral	
247	Head of window	Acton Church, Staffordshire	
248	Circular ornament	Ditto	
249	Border	Norbury Church, Derbyshire	
250	Quarries, &c.	Ditto	
251	Part of canopy	Mells Church, Somersetshire	
252	Part of canopy	Ditto	
253	Tracery light	Ditto	
254	Tracery light	Ditto	
255	Tracery light	Ditto	
256	Swiss glass	In the possession of Albert Way, Esq.	
257	Shield	Mells, Somersetshire	
258	Tracery light	Ditto	
259	Head (David)	Fairford Church, Gloucestershire	
260	Border	Wraysbury Church, Bucks	
261	Border	Norbury Church, Derbyshire	
262	Quarry	Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire	
263	Pattern on drapery	Stowting Church, Kent	
264	Border	St. Cross Church, near Winton	
265	Arms, Cardinal Beaufort	Refectory, St. Cross	
266	Border	St. Cross Church	
267	Emblem of Virgin Mary	Ditto	
268	Quarries	Ditto	
268*a*	Quarry	Ditto	
269	Border	Ditto	
270	Fragments	Now in the cloisters of Winchester College, originally in the chapel of New College, Oxford.	
271	Hand	Ditto	
272	Quarries	Ditto	
273	Pattern	Ditto	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
274	Pattern	Now in the cloisters of Winchester College, originally in the chapel of New College, Oxford.	
275	Quarries and pattern	Ditto	
276	Head	Ditto	
277	Letters	Ditto	
278	Ornaments, &c.	Ditto	
279	Letters	Ditto	
280	Quarries	Ditto. (2.) Wanlip Church, Leicestershire.	
281	Christ bearing the Cross	Romsey Abbey, Hants	
282	Tracery light	Mells, Somersetshire	
283	Badge, Henry VII.	Chessington Church, Surrey, and Mr. Ward's.	
284	Arms	Farningham Church, Kent	
285	Lion's head	In the possession of Mr. Miller	
286	Pattern	In the possession of Mr. Ward, supposed to be from Westminster Abbey.	
287	Quarries	Winchester (from New College), and Snodland Church, Kent.	
288	Patterns	Snodland Church, Kent	
288*a*	Quarries	Ditto	
289	Arms of England	Ditto	
290	Arms of Eleanor of Castile, Queen of Edward I.	Ditto	
291	Christ	Ditto	
292	Quarries, &c. (144)	Ditto, and Chartham Church, Kent	
293	Pattern	Selling Church, Kent	
294	Quarry	In the possession of Mr. Clutterbuck.	
295	Pattern on drapery	Thaxted Church, Essex	
296	Heads	Ditto	
297	Cherub	Ditto	
298	Inscription	Ditto	
299	Virgin Mary	Wichfont Church, Wilts	
300	Quarry	Formerly in possession of late C. Winston.	
301	Quarry	In the possession of N. Powell, Esq.	
302	Border, French glass	In the possession of Mr. Ward	
303	Pattern	Ditto	
304	Fragments	Fairford Church, Gloucestershire	
305	Fragments	Ditto	
306	Crown	Ditto	
307	Heads and border	Cassington, Oxfordshire	
308	Pattern	Durweston Church, Dorsetshire	
309	Fragment of canopy	Ditto	
310	Crozier	Ditto	
311	Quarries	Ditto	
312	Female head	East window, York Minster	
313	Heads and pattern	Chapter House, York Minster	
314	Head	York Minster	
315	Figure and part of light	Snodland Church, Kent	
316	Head	Ditto	
317	Inscription	Stowting Church, Kent	
318	Borders, &c.	Kingsdown Church, Kent	
319	Quarries and pattern	Winchester and Westminster Abbey	
320	Quarry	St. Alban's Abbey	
321	Badge, Cardinal Kemp	Fulham Palace	
322	Fragment of arms	Halsted Church, Essex	
323	Border	Thaxted Church, Essex	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
324	Border	Stratford Church, Essex	
325	Fragment of canopy	Ditto	
326	Tracery light	Ditto	
327	Patterns, &c.	Ditto	
328	Portions of heads	Westminster Abbey	
329	Roses	Ditto	
330	Hands, &c.	Ditto	
331	Borders	Nethereale Church, Leicestershire	
332	Fragments of a Jesse	Ditto	
333	Fragments of a Jesse	Ditto	
334	The Bourchier Knot	Sevenoaks, Kent	
335	Border	Belonged to the late C. Winston	
336	Female head	In the possession of Mr. Fletcher	
337	Tracery light	Eynesford Church, Kent	
338	Quarry	Farningham Church, Kent	
339	Merchants' mark	North Cray Church, Kent	
341	Quarries and borders	Rothley Church, Leicestersnire	
342	Borders, &c.	Thaxted Church, Essex	
343	Badge, St. John Peche	Lullingstone Church, Kent	
344	Rose	In the possession of Mr. Ward	
345	Border	Belonged to the late C. Winston	
346	Pattern	In the possession of Mr. Ward	
347	Head	Ditto	
348	Fragment of arms	Fawkham Church, Kent	
349	Fragments, &c.	Ditto	
350	Tracery light	Ash Church, Kent	
351	Quarries and borders	Ditto	
352	Badge of Edward Prince of Wales.	In the possession of Mr. Andrews, Ewell, Surrey.	
353	Arms, Henry VIII.	Ditto	
354	Arms, Bishop Boner. Motto, "Declina mal & fac bonum."	Ditto	
355	Arms of the Bennet family, Clopton, Berks.	Ditto	
356	Allegoric figure of November	Bilton Church, Warwickshire	
357	Emblem of St. Mark	In the possession of Mr. Powell	
358	Arms, Warren	Ardingley Church, Sussex	
359	Arms	Ditto	
360	Fragment	Nostel Priory, Yorkshire. Two of the canopies are dated A.D. 1534, A.D. 1535.	
361	Head of Christ	Thorpe Church, Surrey	
362	Canopy	Buckland Church, Surrey	
363	St. Paul	Ditto	
364	Border	Ditto	
365	Head	Firle Church, Sussex	
366	Our Saviour	Ditto	
367	Angel	Ditto	
368	Fragments	Ditto	
369	Quarries	Thorpe Church, Surrey	
370	Border and fragments	Ditto	
371	Border	Ditto	
372	Border	Ditto	
373	Infant Jesus	Ditto	
374	Part of a canopy	Ditto	
375	St. James	Frittenden Church, Kent	
376	Quarries and border	Selling Church, Kent	
377	Quarry	Formerly in possession of late C. Winston.	
378	Quarry	In possession of E. Hailstone, Esq.	
379	Quarry	Late C. Winston	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
380	Royal Badge	Formerly in possession of late C. Winston.	
381	Ornament	Formerly at Franks House, Kent	
382	Head of a Pope	Bristol Cathedral	
383	Fragments	Ditto	
384	Arms	Ditto	
385	Border	Frittenden Church, Kent	
386	King David	Bristol Cathedral	
387	Head	East window, ditto	
388	Crowned head	Ditto	
389	Head of Virgin Mary	Ditto	
390	Head	Ditto	
391	Virgin Mary	Ditto	
392	Infant Jesus	Ditto	
393	Fragments	Ditto	
394	Fragments	Ditto	
395	Fragments	Ditto	
396	Love triumphant	Wilton, Wilts	
397	Pattern. Motto "Delectaro in Dño."	Portions of hall window, Bede House, Lyddington, Rutlandshire.	
398	Pattern. Motto "Dñs exaltatio mea."	Ditto	
399	Quarry	Ditto	
400	Fragment	East Haddon, Northamptonshire	
401	Portion of a Jesse. Figures inscribed "Abdias" and "Achaz Rex."	Leverington Church, Cambridgeshire.	
402	Head "Iaachaz rex"	Ditto	
403	Tracery light	Thorpe Church, Surrey	
404	Arms of Edward the Black Prince.	St. Albans, Herts	
405	Arms of Lionel Duke of Clarence.	Ditto	
406	Arms of John of Gaunt	Ditto	
407	Arms ditto	Ditto	
408	Agnus Dei	Newick Church, Sussex	
409	Agnus Dei	Ditto	
410	Head	German, painted on a piece of coated purple glass. Formerly in the possession of the late C. Winston.	
411	Head	Ditton	
412	Quarry	Shrivenham Church, Berks	
413	Fragment of a mitre	Formerly in possession of the late C. Winston. The blue jewel in the mitre is formed of a piece of blue glass stuck on the white, as described in the 'Diversarum Artrum Schedula' of Theophilus, lib. 2, chap. 28.	
414	Arms of Peake	In possession of R. Peake, Esq.	
415	Arms of Peake	Ditto	
416	Arms	Bristol Cathedral	
417	Quarries	From a church near Bath	
418	Border and fragments	Bristol Cathedral, taken from the east window in 1847, but forming no part of the original design	
419	Border and fragments	Ditto	
420	Fragments	Bristol Cathedral	
421	Tracery light	Ditto	
422	Figure	Ditto	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
423	Fragments and heads	Bristol Cathedral	
424	Shield	Much Hadham Church, Herts	
425	I. H. S. and inscription. "Hoc est nomen quod super omne nomen."	Ditto	
426	Shield	Ditto	
427	Shield	Ditto	
428	I. H. S.	Ditto	
429	Head	Ditto	
430	Head	Bristol Cathedral	
431	Mitre	Ditto	
432	Fragment	Ditto	
433	Head	Ditto	
434	Fragments	Ditto	
435	Drapery	Ditto	
436	Borders	Ditto	
437	Quarry	Ditto	
438	Quarry	Ditto	
439	Fragment	Ditto	
440	Fragment	Ditto	
441	Fragment	Ditto	
442	Figure	Ditto	
443	Borders, &c.	Ditto	
444	Arms, Cobham of Sterbury	Ditto	
445	Arms of the Berkeley family	Ditto	
446	Borders, &c.	Ditto	
447	Quarries, &c.	Ditto, south side choir	
448	Fragments, &c.	Ditto, east window, but originally belonged to some other window.	
449	Border and arms	Ditto	
450	Armed figure (St. George?)	Ditto	
451			
452	Quarries	Much Hadham Church, Herts	
453	Quarries	Ditto	
454	Canopy	Stanford Church, Northamptonshire.	
455	Border	Ditto	
456	Figure of St. Michael	Ditto	
457	Arms	Ditto	
458	Arms, tau cross and bell	Ditto	
459	Fragments	A. W. Franks, Esq.	
460	Head and quarry	Ditto	
461	Quarry	Ditto	
462	Quarry	Ditto	
463	Quarry	Ditto	
464	Quarry	Ditto	
465	Plantagenista	Ditto	
466	Fragments	Ditto	
467	Quarry	Ditto	
468	Quarry	Ditto	
469	Quarry	Ditto	
470	Tracery light	Stowting Church, Kent	
471	Quarries	Ditto	
472	Specimen of ruby glass	Ditto	
473	Fragment	Ditto	
474	Fragment	Ditto	
475	Quarry	Ditto	
476	Quarry	Ditto	
477	Fragment	Ditto	
478	Quarries	Hastingleigh Church, Kent	
479	Monks' heads	Stowting Church, Kent	
480	Fragments	Nostel Priory, Yorkshire	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
481	Fragment	Stowting Church, Kent	
482	Heads	Lincoln Cathedral, from various panels of the south lancet windows of the transept.	
483	Part of a Jesse	Ditto	
484	Pattern	Lincoln Cathedral	
485	Quarries	Ditto	
486	Inscription	Ditto	
487	Borders	Ditto	
488	Quarries	A. W. Franks, Esq.	
489	Head	Ditto	
490	Fragments	Ditto	
491	Fragments	Ditto	
492	Quarry and border	Ditto	
493	Fragments	Ditto	
494	Fragments	Ditto	
495	Fragments	Ditto	
496	Quarry	Ditto	
497	Figure and canopy	German glass, formerly in possession of late Lord Herbert of Lea.	
498	Part of a canopy	Ditto	
499	Our Saviour	Ditto	
500	A group	Ditto	
501	Arms, Berkeley family (Sir Maurice Berkeley of Stoke-Gifford, died A.D. 1347).	Bristol Cathedral	
502	Arms, Mortimer	Ditto	
503	Part of a Jesse	Ditto	
504	Head of Christ	Long Ashton Church, Somersetshire.	
505	Tracery light	Ditto	
506	Coat of arms	Ditto	
507	St. Anthony	Ditto	
508	Quarry	Winscombe Church, Somersetshire	
509	Head	St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol	
510	Emblem of Holy Trinity	Ditto	
511	Ornament	Ditto	
512	Head, female	Ditto	
513	Star	Ditto	
514	Head	Lady Chapel, Bristol Cathedral	
515	Royal arms, Edward III.	Mayor's Chapel, Bristol	
516	Merchant's mark	Ditto	
517	Quarry	Ditto	
518	Emblem of the Holy Ghost	Ditto	
519	Border	Ditto	
520	Inscription	Ditto	
521	Head	Ditto	
522	Tracery light	Conway Church, Carnarvonshire	
523	Fragment of a tracery light	Ditto	
524	Ornament	Ditto	
525	Figure of Christ	Oddingley Church, Worcestershire	
526	Group of figures	Ditto	
527	Tracery light	Ditto	
528	Tracery light (fetterlock)	Ditto	
529	Quarries	Ditto	
530	Borders and quarry	Ditto	
531	Border	Trinity Church, Coventry	
532	Fragment	Ditto	
533	Inscription	Ditto	
534	Tracery light	Frittenden Church, Kent	
535	Tracery light	Ditto	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
536	Tracery light	Frittenden Church, Kent	
537	Tracery light	Ditto	
538	Tracery light	Ditto	
539	Diaper pattern	Ditto	
540	Figure and canopy	Ashchurch, Gloucestershire	
541	Tracery light	Ditto	
542	Rose and quarries	Ditto	
543	Arms	Ditto	
544	Part of a canopy	Bristol Cathedral, choir windows	
545	Bird quarries	In the possession of Mr. Chichester	
546	Quarry	Ditto	
547	Borders	Possession of Rev. P. Aubertin, Froyle, Hants.	
548	Part of a figure	Rodburn Church, Wilts	
549	Border	Ditto	
550	Head of a lower light	Ditto	
551	Arms of England	Froyle Church, Hants	
552	Tracery light	Ditto	
553	Arms of France	Ditto	
554	Arms of Edward the Confessor	Ditto	
555	Fragment of a canopy	Ditto	
556	Quarry	In the possession of A. W. Franks, Esq.	
557	Quarries, dated 1578	In the possession of Rev. P. Aubertin, junior.	
558	Arms, dated 1578	Ditto	
559	Fleurs-de-lis	Ditto	
560	Part of a figure	In the possession of Mr. J. Ward	
561	Tracery light	In the possession of Rev. P. Aubertin, junior.	
562	Merchant's mark	Bristol Cathedral	
563	Merchant's mark	Ditto	
564	Tracery light	Almshouse Chapel, Wells	
565	Cipher, T L.	Ditto	
566	Arms. Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Wells, 1408–1424.	Ditto	
567	Arms	Barkwell Church, Somersetshire	
568	Arms	Bristol Cathedral	
569	Arms	Ditto	
570	Fragment	In the possession of Mr. Bell, Bristol.	
571	Fragment	Ditto	
572	Border	Merton Chapel, Oxford	
573	Motto of Cardinal De la Marck, "Decipimur votis, tempore fallimur, mors deridet curas anxia vita nichl."	Lichfield Cathedral	
574	Legend of St. Catherine	West Horsley Church, Surrey	
575	Mary Magdalene washing our Saviour's feet.	Ditto	
576	Fragment	Ditto	
577	Fragments	Wavendon Church, Bucks	
578	Arms (Arden?)	Ditto	
579	Fragments	Ditto. There is a stratum of light red glass in the midst of the blue sheet seen section-wise.	
580	Fragments	Ditto	
581	Fragments	Ditto	
582	Fragments	Ditto	
583	Fragment	In the possession of Rev. P. Aubertin, junior.	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
584	Fragment	In the possession of Rev. P. Aubertin, junior.	
585	Bristol Cathedral	Ditto	
586	Part of a Jesse. On a scroll "Ezechias;" at the bottom of the window is written "Anno Domini MCCCCCXXXIII."	Llanrhaidr Church, Denbighshire	
587	Quarry	Ditto	
588	Part of a Jesse	Dyserth Church, Flintshire	
589	Borders	Salisbury Cathedral	
590	Borders	Ditto	
591	Arms of France	Ditto, originally belonged to the Chapter House.	
592	Arms	Ditto	
593	Arms	Ditto	
594	Fragments	Ditto	
595	Fragments	Ditto	
596	Tracery light	St. Thomas's Church, Salisbury ..	
597	Fragments	Salisbury Cathedral	
598	Fragments	Ditto	
599	Figure	Ditto	
600	Pattern	Ditto	
601	Geometrical pattern	Ditto	
602	Geometrical pattern	Ditto	
603	Fragments	Ditto	
604	Fragments	East Brent Church, Somersetshire	
605	Borders	Salisbury Cathedral	
606	Martyrdom of St. Stephen ..	Grately Church, Hants, originally belonged to Salisbury Cathedral.	
607	Group, Christ and the Apostles	Formerly in the possession of the late Lord Herbert of Lea.	
608	Borders	Grately Church, Hants, originally belonged to Salisbury Cathedral.	
609	Borders	Ditto	
610	Tracery light	Trumpington Church, Cambridgeshire.	
611	Pattern	Ditto	
612	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
613	Pattern	Ditto	
614	Fleurs-de-lis	Ditto	
615	Border	Grately Church, Hants. This glass originally belonged to Salisbury Cathedral.	
616	Angel Gabriel	Ditto	
617	Scroll-works	Ditto	
618	Fragments	Ditto	
619	Crucifixion	In the possession of Mr. Miller ..	
620	Head	King's College Chapel, Cambridge	
621	Boy	Ditto	
622	Tracery light. The Prince of Wales's feathers and motto.	Fairford Church, Gloucestershire	
623	Fragments	Ditto	
624	King David	Llanrhaidr Church, Denbighshire	
624*a*	Inscription	Ditto	
625	Fragments, inscribed "Ieronimi," "Augustini," "Gregorii."	Ditto	
626	Arms, William of Wykeham	New College, Oxford. The Hall	
627	Arms, St. George	Ditto	
628	Arms	Ditto	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
629	Arms (probably of the old see of Winchester).	New College, Oxford. The Hall	
630	Part of a canopy	Wouldham Church, Kent	
631	Fragments	Ditto	
632	Borders	In the possession of Mr. Chichester	
633	Borders	Ditto	
634	Quarry	Ditto	
635	Quarry	Ditto	
636	Fragments	Ditto	
637	Fragments	Ditto	
638	Quarry	Horfield Church, Gloucestershire	
639	Fragments	St. Peter's Church, Oxford	
640	Pattern		
641	Tracery light		
642	Sir R. Hutton's arms	Staple Inn Hall	
643	A border	Belonging to Mr. Ward	
644	Lord Chief Justice Hyde's arms.	Middle Temple Hall	
645	Border	In the possession of Mr. Warrington.	
646	Part of a knight	Adderbury Church, Oxfordshire ..	
647	Two heads	Ditto	
648	Tracery light	Merton Chapel, Oxford	
649	Tracery light	Ditto	
650	Tracery light	Ditto	
651	Tracery light	Ditto	
652	Head of Christ	Ditto	
653	Borders	Ditto	
654	Quarry	In the possession of Mr. Lucas ..	
655	Border	Ditto	
656	Ornament	Merton College, Oxford	
657	Pattern	Stockbury Church, Kent	
658	Tracery light	Ditto	
659	Quarry and border	Ditto	
660	Border	Ditto	
661	Quarry	Ditto	
662	Pattern	Cologne Cathedral	
663	Pattern	Ditto	
664	Pattern	Ditto	
665	Pattern	Ditto	
666	Fragments	Ditto	
667	Borders	Ditto	
668	Fragments	Brocklesby Church, Lincolnshire	
669	Fragments	Ditto	
670	Pattern	Ditto	
671	Pattern	Takeley Church, Essex	
671a	Fragments	St. Denis's Church, York	
672	Pattern	Bushbury Church, Staffordshire ..	
673	Pattern	Ditto	
674	Pattern	Ditto	
675	Pattern	Ditto	
676	Pattern	Ditto	
677	Pattern	Ditto	
678	Pattern	Ditto	
679	Tracery light	Ditto	
680	A monk	Ditto	
681	Tracery lights	Oddingley Church, Worcestershire	
682	Tracery lights, &c.	Ditto	
683	Fragments	E. Hailstone, Esq.	
684	St. George	Aldwinkle St. Peter's, Northamptonshire.	
685	St. Christopher	Ditto	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
686	Tracery light, with kneeling figure. Inscription defaced: "Orate pro."	Aldwinkle St. Peter's, Northamptonshire.	
687	Pattern	Bushbury Church, Staffordshire	
688	The Saviour	Ditto	
689	Window-head	Ditto	
690	Part of the Assumption	Aldwinkle St. Peter's, Northamptonsire.	
691	Window-head	Stow-Bardolph Church, Norfolk	
692	Border	Lincoln Cathedral	
693	Borders	Merton Chapel, Oxford	
694	Angels with censers	Lincoln Cathedral	
695	Tracery light	Barnewall Church, Northamptonshire.	
696	Figure, tracery light (St. Nicholas).	From an early Perpendicular window.	
697	Head of canopy	Ditto	
698	Head of canopy	Ditto	
699	Badge of Anne Boleyn	Formerly at a farmhouse near Hadley, Suffolk.	
700	Borders	Lincoln Cathedral	
701	Turkish glass	Formerly in the possession of the late J. Bell, Esq., M.P., from Cairo; it was set in plaster framework.	
702	Circle	Ditto	
703	Ornament	Ditto	
704	Head of our Saviour	Ditto	
705	Ornament	Ditto	
706	Ornament	Ditto	
707	Fragment	Ditto	
708	Head of a saint	Ditto	
709	Head of a saint	Ditto	
710	Head of an archbishop	Ditto	
711	Fragments	Ditto	
712	Angel	Ditto	
713	Figure	Ditto	
714	Legend of St. Gregory	Inserted in the North Rose, Lincoln	
715	Head of a female	North Rose, Lincoln	
716	Head of a bishop	Ditto	
717	Fragment of drapery	Ditto	
718	Group	Ditto	
719	Head of a monk	Ditto	
720	Head of a saint	Ditto	
721	Emblems of St. Mark and St. John.	Ditto	
722	An angel censing	Ditto	
723	Border and Quarry	Hunsdon Church, Herts	
724	Tracery light	Ditto	
725	Pattern	Salisbury Cathedral	
726	Pattern	Ditto	
727	Head of a bishop	Ditto	
728	Angel	Ditto	
729	A bishop	Ditto	
729			
729	A king	Ditto	
729			
730	Pattern	Ditto	
731	Head	Tours Cathedral	
732	Head	Ditto	
733	Tracery light	North Moreton Church, Berks	

	Subject.	Where situate, or Owner's Name.	Supposed Date.
734	Fragments	North Moreton Church, Berks ..	
735	Arms of Thomas Magas (a foundling), Canon of Windsor from 1520-1547: motto, "As God will."	Mr. Batchelor's house in the Cloisters, Windsor Castle.	
736	Quarry	Ditto	
737	Pattern	Lincoln Cathedral	
738	Pattern	Ditto	
739	Pattern	Ditto	
740	Figure and canopy	North Moreton Church	
741	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
742	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
743	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
744	Tracery light	Salisbury Chapter-house	
745	Window	From the mosque of Sultan Solyman, Constantinople.	
746	Figure	Longdon Church, Staffordshire ..	
747	Arms of the Stafford family (originally with the arms of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, 1337-1360).	Ditto	
748	Border	Ditto	
749	Tracery light	Ditto	
750	Arms	Lichfield Cathedral	
751	Border	St. Peter's Church, St. Albans, Herts.	
752	Border	In possession of C. H. Wilson, Esq.	
753	Quarry	In possession of Mr. Miller	
754	Fragment	Ditto	
755	Fragment	Ditto	
756	Quarries	Ditto	
757	Pattern	Gloucester Cathedral	
758	Quarry	Ditto	
759	Tracery light	Ditto	
760	Fragment	Ditto	
761	Arms of Henry Earl of Lancaster, A.D. 1327-45.	Ditto	
762	Arms	Ditto	
763*a*	Figure and canopy	East window, Gloucester Cathedral	
763*b*	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
763*c*	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
763*d*	Figure and canopy	Ditto	
764*a*	Pattern and arms	Ditto	
764*b*	Arms of Valence and Hastings	Ditto	
764*c*	Portion of a window	Ditto	
765	Part of a figure	Ditto	
766	A window-head	From the Upper Cloisters, Windsor Castle.	
767	Group, inscribed "Voce manu plaudentes," &c.	Nettlestead Church, Kent	
768	Stafford Badge	Ditto	
769	Emblem of St. John	Ditto	
770	St. Lawrence	Ditto	
770*a*	Window-head	Ditto	
771	Arms	Now in possession of Rev. Lambert Larkins, but formerly in Aylesford Church, Kent	
772	Fragments	Florence Cathedral, in the possession of G. Aitchison, Esq. ..	

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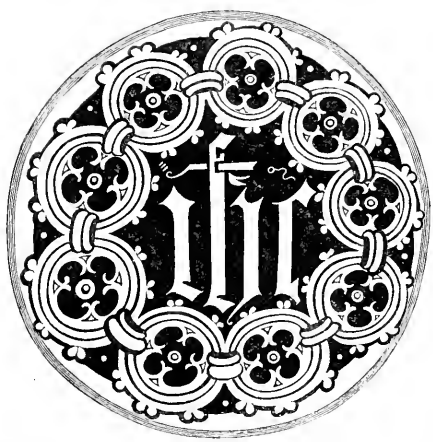

Ornamented circle, with I. H. S., from Thaxted Church, Essex, 1490.

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